Devedesete: Rečnik migracija

The Nineties: A Glossary of Migrations

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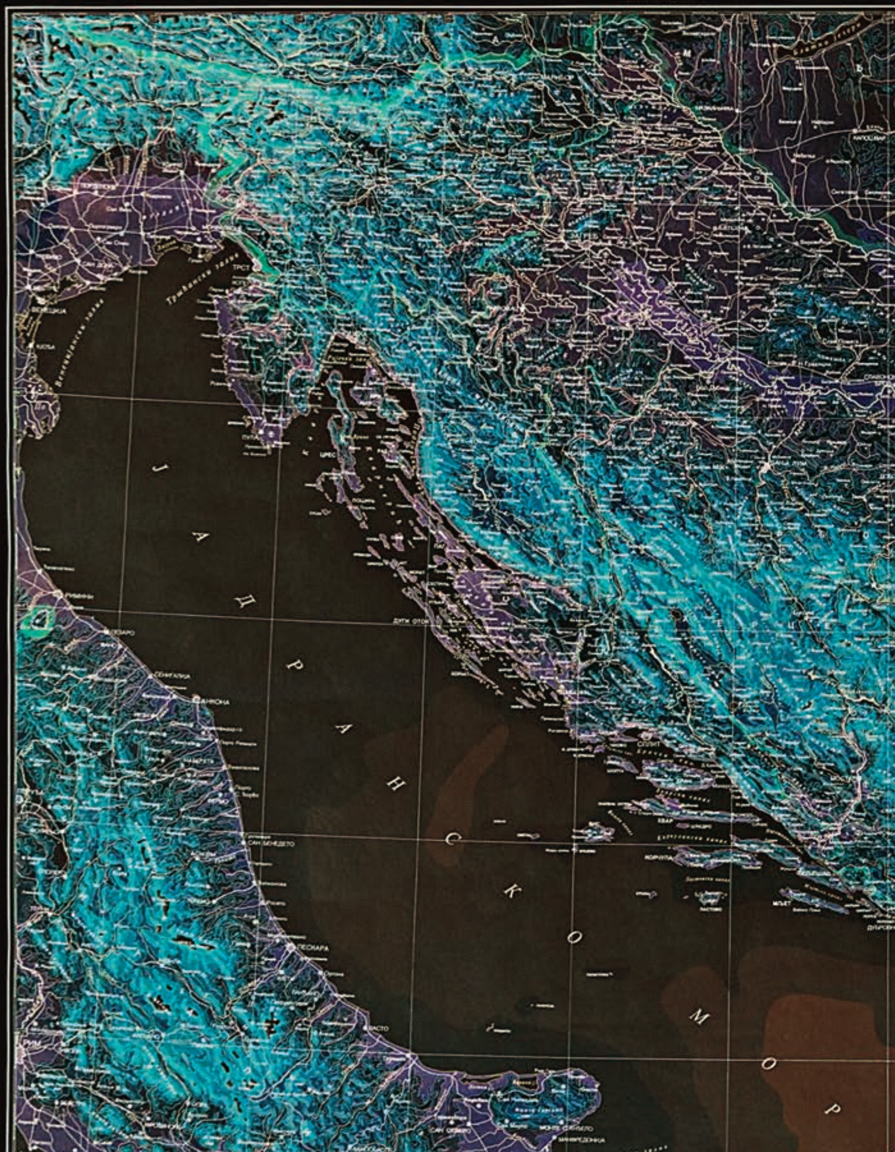
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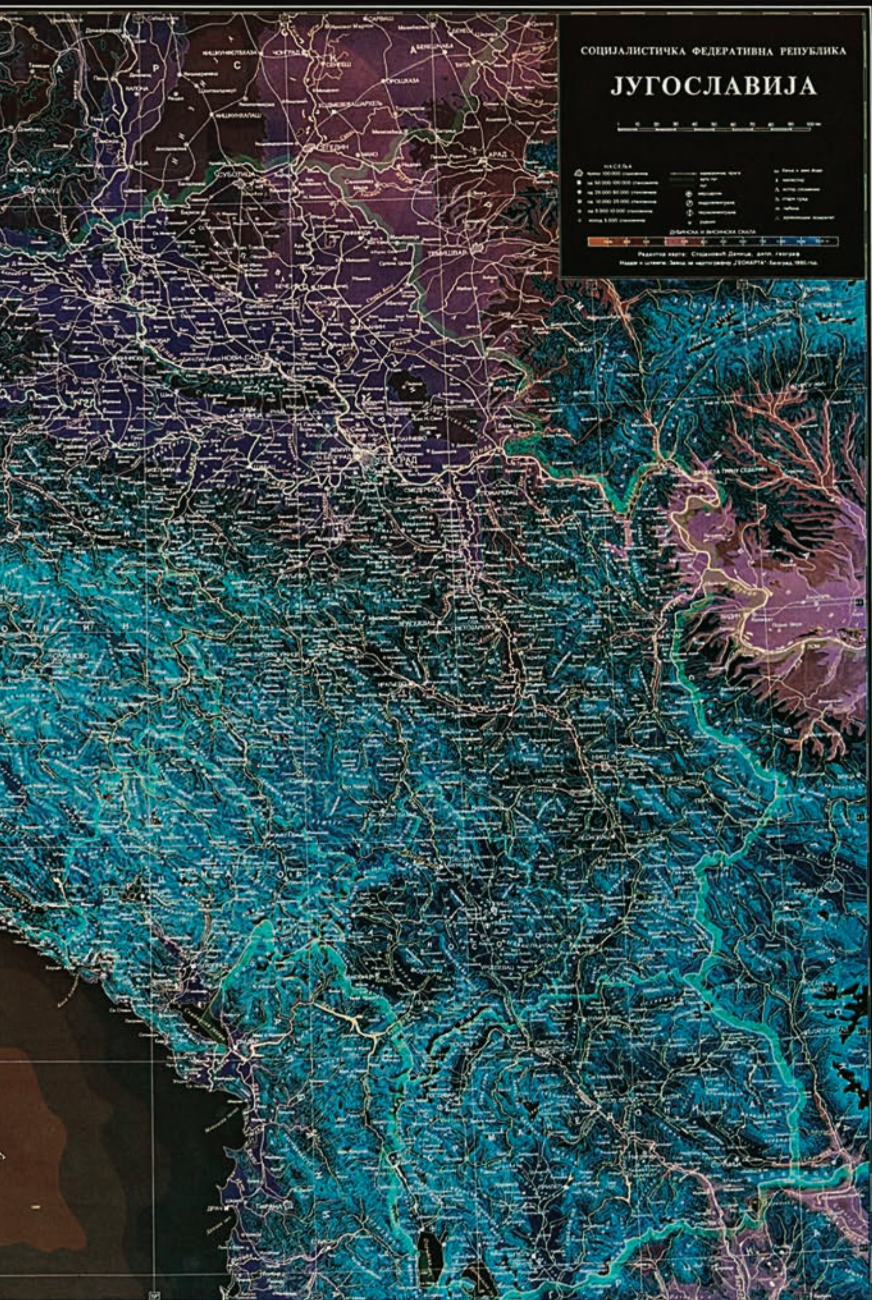
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СОЦИЈАЛИСТИЧКА ФЕДЕРАТИВНА РЕПУБЛИКА
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Rečnik migracija: jedno moguće tumačenje devedesetih

Budući da smo uvek zatečeni usred neke mreže istorijski konstruisanih pojmova i praksi, svaka priča, uključujući priče koje proizvode muzeji, nužno počinje *in medias res*. Osim što ne postoji neki „apsolutni" početak od kojeg je moguće početi bilo koji istorijski narativ, izazovi pripovedanja su utoliko veći jer svako vreme ima svoje operativne pojmove, koji nemaju rigidno definisane semantičke okvire već učestvuju u stalnim borbama i pregovaranjima oko hegemenog značenjskog sistema. Drugim rečima, locirati početak priče znači konstruisati ga, „staviti stvari u kontekst" znači proizvesti (poželjan) kontekst za tumačenje, a pojmovno artikulisati noseće probleme znači interpretirati, a ne objektivno mapirati činjenice. Otuda, čak i fragmentarno artikulisati svaki od pojmova koji stoji u nazivu izložbe *Devedesete: Rečnik migracija,* koju 2019. priređuje Muzej Jugoslavije, nipošto nije i ne može biti neutralan čin.

Devedesete. Devedesetih godina XX veka na prostoru Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije na delu su najmanje tri međusobno uvezana procesa: dezintegracija državne zajednice, urušavanje društveno-ekonomskog socijalističkog uređenja i reartikulacija svih kohezivnih ideoloških i simboličkih formacija (nasleđa antifašizma i Narodnooslobodilačke borbe, ideologije bratstva i jedinstva, ideologije jugoslovenstva – da navedemo samo neke). Naravno, ovi procesi nisu počeli devedestih godina, ali su se u toj deceniji dramatično radikalizovali, temeljno izmenivši politički, društveni, ekonomski i kulturni prostor Jugoslavije. „Nenasilnim" otcepljenjem ili oružanim sukobima stvorene su tzv. nacije-države, legitimisane kreiranjem novih ili reartikulacijom starih nacionalističkih mitova, praćenih revitalizacijom etničkih i verskih podela. Osim što su legitimisali ratove i novoformirane političke entitete, nacional-populistički diskursi uspešno su amortizovali klasnu osnovu i ekonomske ciljeve ratnih sukoba, racionalizujući tranzicione neoliberalne strategije, koje će nove države većinski uvesti u zonu zemalja tzv. perifernog kapitalizma.

Migracije. Traumatične posledice ovih procesa osećaju ne samo građani svih država nastalih nakon dezintegracije Jugoslavije već i oni koji su je devedestih

godina trajno napustili. Masovne migracije stanovništva koje su trajale tokom čitave decenije jedan su od najočiglednijih indikatora pomenutih procesa. Prema uzročno redukcionističnim shvatanjima, *raseljavanje* lokalnog stanovništva unutar bivših republika najčešće se tretira kao cilj[1] a ne kao posledica radikalnih nacionalističkih politika, koje su afirmisale homogenizaciju lokalnog stanovništa po etničkom ključu. Na isti način, *iseljavanje* stanovništva prvenstveno se sagledava kao posledica destruktivnih političkih procesa, ekonomskog kraha i straha od mobilizacije,[2] dok se *organizovano doseljavanje* građana poreklom iz Kine u drugoj polovini devedestih tumači kao očigledan indikator početka sprovođenja neoliberalnih tranzicionih mera.[3]

Devedesete: Rečnik migracija. Sva tri toka migracionih kretanja (raseljavanja, doseljavanja, iseljavanja), s korpusom socijalnih, pravnih, političkih i kulturnih problema koji su ih direktno proizveli, postaće predmet ne samo javnih politika i akademskih istraživanja[4] već i referentni okvir za delovanje u polju *umetnosti, aktivizma i civilnog društva.* Na izložbi *Devedesete: Rečnik migracija* mapirani su različiti oblici angažmana kroz koje su upravo akteri u polju umetnosti, aktivizma i civilnog sektora adresirali probleme izazvane masovnim migracijama u Srbiju i iz Srbije tokom pomenute decenije. Primarni fokus izložbe usmeren je na markiranje umetničkih pozicija i praksi, dok su pored toga predstavljene i pojedine aktivističke inicijative i organizacije civilnog društva koje u svoj rad uključuju saradnju sa savremenim umetnicima, ili koje su umetnici lično pokretali. Naravno, reč je o jednom mogućem pregledu, koji se nikako ne isrpljuje u ovoj selekciji.

Osim što su ukrštene različite pozicije i domeni delovanja, na izložbi se prepliću i različite temporalnosti. Gotovo polovina predstavljenih umetničkih radova i aktivističkih inicijativa realizovana je devedesetih godina, i u tom smislu predstavlja veoma važne primere angažovanog mišljenja i delovanja u vremenu aktivne traumatizacije društva. To je naročito značajno u kontekstu umetničkih

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1 M. Bobić, „Migracije, demografsko-sociološka analiza", u: I. Milenković (ur.), *Studije o izbeglištvu*, Beograd, 2005, 124.

2 Više o motivima građana koji se odlučuju da napuste Jugoslaviju devedesetih u: J. R. Despić, *Migracije visokoobrazovanih lica iz Srbije od 1991. godine u Kanadu i Sjedinjene Američke Države*, doktorska disertacija, Beograd, 2015; M. Korać, *U potrazi za domom*, Beograd, 2012.

3 Više o vezi „tržišta tranzicionih ekonomija" i migracija građana poreklom iz Kine u zemlje Centralne i Jugoistoče Evrope vidi u: S. Milutinovuć, „Kineski transnacionalni preduzetnici u Budimpešti i Beogradu: u potrazi za tržištima tranzicionih ekonomija", *Sociologija, Vol. XLVII*, 2005, N. 2, 143–160. Ova uzročno-redukcionistička razumevanja izrazito složenih procesa nipošto ne podrazumevaju da je uzroke i posledice moguće tako jasno razlučiti, kao i da se veze ne mogu vući i po drugim linijama.

4 I mada postoje brojni akademski tekstovi o ovoj temi, oni su mahom vrlo usko orijentisani, zahvatajući najčešće samo jedan aspekt izdvojenog problema. Koliko nam je poznato, nije bilo pokušaja da se u okviru jednog istraživačkog projekta sagledaju i ukrste u celini svi pomenuti migracioni procesi.

praksi i retkih primera tog tipa iz prve polovine devedesetih. Zapravo, ratni period snažno je obeležen pojavom tzv. aktivnog eskapizma (L. Merenik) u umetnosti, koji je podrazumevao bekstvo u kreiranje „paralelne – fikcionalne stvarnosti i sasvim ličnih istorija koje, opet, nikada ne bi nastale da nemaju (nisu imale) povoda u samoj egzistencijalnoj stvarnosti, koja je nekada uspevala da nadmaši samu fikciju".[5] Tek će se u drugoj polovini devedesetih veći broj umetnika okrenuti društveno angažovanim temama, a 1995. godina i potpisivanje Dejtonskog sporazuma jasno koincidira s tim rezom. Osim toga, na izložbi su istaknute umetničke i aktivističke pozicije s kojih se dvehiljaditih promišljalo o konsekvencama tih procesa u već izmenjenoj političkoj stvarnosti, kao i pozicije s kojih se o tome i danas govori i demonstrira solidarnost s ljudima koji te posledice još uvek žive.[6]

Očekivano, načini rada *u* ili *sa* pomenutim kontekstima, bitno su razlikuju. Kad je reč o umetničkim praksama, pojedini umetnici i umetnice prvenstveno su tematizovali probleme čiji su bili neposredni svedoci, drugi su reflektovali lična izbeglička ili migrantska iskustva na način koji može biti relevantan za širu društvenu zajednicu, dok su ostali radili neposredno s ugroženim zajednicama i pojedincima, s prijateljima i kolegama, pa čak i slučajnim prolaznicima, uspostavljajući različite tipove odnosa kroz direktne susrete i simboličku razmenu. Naravno, ima i onih koji u svom radu ukrštaju pomenute metodologije. Svi ti različiti pristupi generisali su raznovrsne formalne i medijske artikulacije poput prostornih i ambijentalnih instalacija, crteža, stripa, različitih oblika aproprijacije, umetničkih praksi na razmeđi relacione, participativne i performativne umetnosti, kao i fotografije i videa mahom korišćenih u službi dokumentovanja društvenih pojava i/ili umetničkih procesa i akcija. Ujedno, njihovi različiti pristupi proizveli su i oprečne diskurzivne pozicije. Osim što svi dele kritički odnos prema kontekstu koji je izazvao masovne migracije stanovništva devedesetih, umetnici su demonstrirali ili primarno negatorski diskurs kojim su najpre dijagnostifikovali probleme, ili su razvili diskurse afirmacije, koristeći polje umetnosti kao platformu

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5 L. Merenik, „No wawe: 1992–1995", u: D. Sretenović, L. Merenik, *Umetnost u Jugoslaviji 1992–1995*, Beograd, 1996, 28.

6 Neki umetnički radovi su ponovljeni za potrebe ove izložbe, a tamo gde to nije bilo moguće, uključena je dokumentacija samih akcija. Zbog osetljivosti problemskog okvira, bilo je važno da se prepoznaju umetnici, aktivisti i predstavnici civilnog društva koji su na sopstvenu inicijativu adresirali i aktivirali ove teme, a ne da se radovi poručuju. Kad je reč o novim radovima, oni su već bili u procesu konceptualizacije kada su kustoskinje odlučile da ih uključe u postavku. Takođe, nekoliko umetnika i umetnica čiji su radovi već bili uključeni u postavku, proizveli su za potrebe izložbe dodatne dokumentarne materijale ili umetničke radove, a koji stoje u direktnoj vezi s onim što je njihova redovna umetnička praksa ili upotpunjuju već selektovan materijal. U kontekstu izložbe nastaju dva video-rada (Kolektiv Migrative art, Vesna Pavlović u saradnji sa Ženama u crnom) i tri murala (Kolektiv Migrative art, i umetnički duo Rena Redle i Vladan Jeremić).

za reparaciju, jačajući u prvom redu međuljudske odnose. Ne izostaju najzad i oni primeri u kojima je formalni pristup i dalje u prvom planu.

Različite pristupe demonstriraju i zastupljeni predstavnici civilnog sektora i aktivističkih inicijativa. Targetirajući traumatične ali nedovoljno vidljive društvene probleme, koje neretko prepoznaju i kao predmet različitih oblika manipulacije, deo njih odlučuje se na istraživački rad, čije rezultate plasiraju ili u formi izložbi u kulturnim institucijama i/ili ih čine javno dostupnim na internet platformama. Drugi se primarno posvećuju „terenskom" radu s ugroženim grupama ili pojedincima, pomažući im kroz izgradnju manje ili više održivih mreža solidarnosti. To su činili, i dalje čine, organizovanjem humanitarne, pravne i psihosocijalne pomoći, kao i stvaranjem konteksta unutar kojeg je bilo moguće da pripadnici zajednica o kojima je reč izađu iz pasivne pozicije primaoca pomoći i trajno se osamostale. Važan je i stalni angažman aktivista i predstavnika civilnog društva koji uključuje alarmiranje javnosti o ugrožavanju prava osoba sa statusom izbeglica ili raseljenih lica, pa čak i pružanje zaštite od oficijelnih i drugih struktura koje ne pokazuju uvek dovoljnu senzibilnost za svu složenost problema u kojem se ta lica nalaze. Kao što je pomenuto, važan deo redovnih aktivnosti odabranih aktivističkih grupa i organizacija (radionice, aktivističke i humanitarne akcije, javne prezentacije, izložbe i slično) uključuje i saradnju sa savremenim umetnicima/umetnicama.

Najzad, bez obzira na različite pristupe i institucionalne oblike delovanja, dvadeset osam umetničkih, aktivističkih i istraživačkih pozicija moguće je orijentaciono sagledati[7] kroz šest problemskih celina: *lica i stvari, režimi (ne)kretanja, režimi stanovanja, odluke i prisile, susreti /mreže solidarnosti, nacije i teritorije*.

Celina *lica i stvari* sugestivno uvodi posmatrača u registar ličnih istorija izbeglih i raseljenih usled ratova devedesetih. Nepoznata *lica* ljudi koji su tada mahom trajno napustili Jugoslaviju, kao i njihove otuđene ili odbačene *stvari* koje stoje na mestu te separacije ili u funkciji poveznice s davno „izgubljenim mestom", upoznaju posmatrača s traumatičnim iskustvima prisilnog izmeštanja i naglog „gubitka mesta", ali i s različitim „strategijama smeštanja" kojima su pribegavali u novoj sredini u cilju rekonstrukcije „prekinutog identiteta" (Vladimir Radojičić, Dušica Dražić, Balint Sombati, Aleksandrija Ajduković, Kiosk – platforma za savremenu umetnost).

U okviru druge celine umetnici i umetnice ukazuju na restriktivne pravne, administrativne i političke mehanizme kojima su devedesetih, ali i kasnije, regu-

7 Kako ne bismo opteretili izložbu dodatnim nivoom tumačenja i odvukli pažnju s „rečničke strukture" koju smatramo primarnom, ove celine tretiramo kao orijentacione, a njihove nazive kao radne, te ih nismo ni komunicirali u prostoru izložbe.

lisani *režimi (ne)kretanja* građana Srbije i regiona. U tom pogledu demonstrira se diskriminatorna priroda imigracionih politika i odgovarajućih zakona na nivou Evropske unije, koji deprivileguju građane na osnovu njihovog državljanstva, etničke, rodne i klasne pripadnosti. Takođe, ukazano je i na restriktivnost viznog režima aktuelnog devedesetih, kao i na ulogu novih zakona o državljanstvu, koji su pravnim sredstvima legitimisali proces dezintegracije Jugoslavije, privilegujući građane matične etničke zajednice (Tanja Ostojić, Asocijacija „Apsolutno", Goranka Matić).

Mapirajući *režime stanovanja* izbeglih, deportovanih ili prisilno raseljenih, umetnici/umetnice i aktivisti/aktivistkinje različitim sredstvima ukazuju mahom na surove posledice stambenih politika i odgovarajućih zakona u lokalnom kontekstu i Evropskoj uniji. U pojedinim slučajevima razvijaju različite oblike političkog delovanja u cilju zaštite prava onih koji su ostali bez mogućnosti da se vrate u svoje stanove i kuće, kojima su one srušene ili onih kojima prete prisilna iseljenja. Ujedno, stambene politike se aktuelizuju kroz intimna sećanja i emocionalne doživljaje prostora u kojima su izbegli i raseljeni nekada stanovali, osvetljavajući načine na koje ta sećanja rezoniraju u stanju izmeštenosti u odnosu na njihovo sadašnje okružje (Združena akcija „Krov nad glavom", Rena Redle i Vladan Jeremić, Milorad Mladenović).

Posredno ili neposredno, umetnici/umetnice propituju prirodu i posledice odluka koje su u Srbiji devedesetih doneli mnogi, ili koje su bili prisiljeni da donesu. Otići ili ostati u zemlji, odazvati se (voljno ili nevoljno) vojnom pozivu ili (makar pokušati) izbeći mobilizaciju, bile su *odluke i/ili prisile* direktno uslovljene stepenom (de)privilegovanosti definisanim klasnom pozicijom, statusom, polom, godinama, kao i simboličkim kapitalom (porodične veze, mreže poznanstava). Zbog toga je pitanje izbora ili prinude, odnosno mogućnosti izlaska iz diskursa apsolutne viktimizacije i pasivizacije teško razlučiti u datom kontekstu (škart/Đo-Dju), G. Matić).

U kontekstu izbegličkih i migrantkih iskustava umetnici/umetnice su neretko koristili polje umetnosti i kao platformu za iniciranje *susreta*[8] i simboličke razmene s ugroženim zajednicama i pojedincima, ali i s prijateljima, kolegama ili pak slučajnim prolaznicima, proizvodeći različite oblike društvenosti i/ili jačajući

8 Sugestivnu sintagmu „nemogući susreti" konstruišu članovi i članice Kolektiva *Migrative art*, koje tretiraju kao ključne umetničke radove i intervencije. Kolektiv su činili „umjetnici s prostora bivše Jugoslavije u egzilu, a na susrete i okupljanja pozivani su umjetnici s postjugoslavenskog prostora". Više o tome vidi u: M. Marković, „Migracija kao nužnost: umjetničko djelovanje kolektiva migrative art 1991.–1996.", *Život umjetnosti*, 101, 2017, 114–135.

same međuljudske odnose[9] (Jusuf Hadžifejzović, Ana Miljanić/Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju, Kolektiv Migrative art, Ivana Momčilović/Loran Vanson, Dejan Dimitrijević/Nebojša Šerić Shoba, škart). Aktivističke inicijative koje takođe uključuju neposredne susrete s ugroženim pojedincima ili zajednicama razvile su veoma značajne *mreže solidarnosti* ne samo organizovanjem pružanja humanitarne, pravne i psihosocijalne pomoći već i trajnog osamostaljivanja izbeglih i raseljenih (Grupa 484, Žene u crnom).

U okviru poslednje problemske celine umetnici/umetnice i istraživači/istraživačice pokreću neka od lokalno najosetljivijih poličkih pitanja devedesetih, propitujući, između ostalog, odnos *nacija i (njima pripadajućih) teritorija*. U tom kontekstu, problematizuju etnički motivisana proterivanja stanovništa iz Srbije i u Srbiju, kao i posledice s kojim se suočavaju građani pogođeni tim „transferima" i pratećim procesima „teritorijalizacije nacionalnih identiteta".[10] Ujedno, markirani su ključni politički mehanizmi i diskursi koji su proizveli i legitimisali te operacije, kojima se najzad i danas legitimišu ili relativizuju, poduprti diskursima (samo) viktimizacije. Najzad, dotaknuto je i pitanje organizovanog doseljavanja građana iz Kine, politički i ekonomski motivisanog u kontekstu uvođenja tržišta tranzicionih ekonomija (Milena Maksimović, Čedomir Vasić, Nikola Radić Lucati, Vahida Ramujkić/Dionis Eskorsa, Vojvođanski građanski centar, udruženje „Kardan").

Rečnik migracija. Mapa različitih formi angažovanog mišljenja i delovanja koju pruža ova izložba omogućava nam ne samo upoznavanje s načinima na koji su zastupljeni akteri u različitim periodima tretirali složeni korpus problema o kojima je reč već bi takva mapa trebalo da pruži kontekst za propitivanje njihovog mogućeg uticaja na preoblikovanje hegemonih diskursa i pojmova koji dominiraju u javnoj sferi. Kako bi to bilo moguće, vladajući diskursi i pojmovi uključeni su u izložbu ali na nivou sekundarne narativne linije, i mogu se pratiti kroz selekciju pojedinih zakona, političkih sporazuma, nacionalnih strategija, fragmenata naučnih istraživanja, zvaničnih statističkih izveštaja i drugih dokumenata koje su zajedno birale kustoskinje i svi učesnici izložbe.

Imajući u vidu pomenutu traumatičnu pozadinu migracionih kretanja devedesetih u Srbiji, nužno je jasno artikulisati temeljne izazove ovog projekta, budući

9 Umetničke prakse devedesetih u globalnom kontekstu dominatno je odredila pojava relacione estetike, za čiju teorijsku artikulaciju je zaslužan Nikola Burio. Relaciona umetnost uključuje različite oblike participacativnih i kolaborativnih praksi, a sama umetnička forma izjednačava se sa „domenom ljudskih međusobnih odnosa i njihovog društvenog konteksta", kako to definiše Burio. Više o tome vidi u: N. Bourriaud, *Relacijska estetika; Postprodukcija: kultura kao scenarij: kako umjetnost reprogramira suvremeni svijet*, Zagreb, 2013.

10 Više o konceptu „teritorijalizacije nacionalnog identiteta" vidi u: L. Malki, „Nacionalna geografija: ukorenjivanje ljudi i teritorijalizacija nacionalnog identiteta iz ugla teoretičara i izbeglica", u: I. Milenković (ur.), *Studije o izbeglištvu*, Beograd, 2005, 29–63.

da su upravo oni motivisali ključna metodološka i kustoska rešenja na kojima počivaju koncept i struktura izložbe. Naime, odmah na početku istraživanja postalo je jasno da (nas) sâm korpus problema o kojima je reč direktno navodi na reprodukciju nekoliko vrlo spornih pojmova i diskursa, kao i da će „metodološki nacionalizam"[11] koji definiše tematski okvir izložbe to dodatno podupreti. Dva najproblematičnija diskursa s kojima smo se kao kustoskinje susretale podrazumevaju afirmaciju „prebrojavanja izbeglih" ili „raseljenih" prema nacionalnom i etničkom ključu, i fiksiranje subjekta migracija kao „izmeštenog" pojedinca proizvedenog logikom pravno-birokratskog aparata i politikama identiteta. Ovakav diskurzivni okvir objektivizuje „izmeštene" kao problem koji po pravilu treba rešavati tehničko-administrativnim sredstvima, neutrališući tako, ili sasvim brišući, sve klasne, rasne i rodno diskriminatorne imigracione politike. Uz to, takav diskurs „izmeštenosti" subjekta implicitno normalizuje stanje „ukorenjenosti" i pripadanja, i to u prvom redu matičnoj naciji-državi.

Zbog svega što je pomenuto uvideli smo da je nužno da se na izložbi osvetle i sporni diskursi, ali to je podrazumevalo da će se posredno ili neposredno delom reprodukovati. Otuda smo pokušale da nađemo način da, mimo hegemonog, generišemo i jedan novi ***rečnik***, kojim bi se makar privremeno reartikulisali takvi dominantni pojmovi i diskursi. Naime, svi umetnici/umetnice i saradnici/saradnice pozvani/pozvane su da, u saradnji s kustoskinjama, izaberu pojam, sintagmu ili idiom za koji smatraju da na najprecizniji način artikuliše poziciju rada, inicijative ili zajednice, naravno pre svega iz perspektive problemskog fokusa izložbe, kao i da napišu izjavu koja eksplicira taj izbor. Bilo je moguće razmišljati ili o vraćanju „prognanih" pojmova, ili o biranju nekih kontraintuitivnih, čak poetičnih i krajnje ličnih idioma i sintagmi, ili pak o ukazivanju na sporne implikacije različitih eufemizama i tehničkih pojmova iz pravno-birokratskog registra, kojima se definišu ili „rešavaju" problemi o kojima je reč.

Kako se „isti događaji mogu na različite načine ne samo ispričati nego i opojmljavati"[12], u izložbu je uvedena već pomenuta sekundarna narativna linija, koja se može pratiti kroz selekciju oficijelnih dokumenta. U okviru ovog registra izložbe delimično su osvetljeni konteksti u kojem nastaju ili na koje implicitno referiraju umetnički radovi i aktivističke inicijative poput stambenog pitanja izbeglih i raseljenih, readmisije, dezerterstva, prisilne mobilizacije izbeglica, di-

11 U kontekstu izložbe *Devedesete: Rečnik migracija* metodološki nacionalizam podrazumeva problemski fokus na masovne migracije *u Srbiju i iz Srbije*, određen zbog nedostatka resursa da se sprovede sveobuhvatno istraživanje na regionalnom nivou.

12 T. Kuljić, *Prognani pojmovi, Neoliberalna pojmovna revizija misli o društvu*, Beograd, 2018, 32.

jaspore, zakonske regulative koja definiše uslove povratka proteranih ili režima državljanstva u Jugoslaviji devedesetih. Na taj način uveden je i suprotstavljen jedan drugačiji, u prvom redu pravno-administrativni „rečnik" kroz koji je nužno misliti o ovim problemima, budući da odluke najviših državnih predstavnika, kao i različite mere javnih politika i zakonodavnih procedura u najvećoj meri definišu statuse ljudi pogođenih migracionim kretanjima. „Alternativni" rečnik koji su proizveli učesnici i učesnice izložbe nipošto nema pretenziju da simplifikuje svu složenost problema koje adresira. Pre bi se moglo reći da je namera da ih u registru umetnosti i aktivizma privremeno sažme, kako bismo mogli da trasiramo put ka eventualnoj „transfiguraciji opštih mesta"[13] koja nam neprekidno diktiraju i mišljenje i delovanje, otvarajući na taj način i pitanje uloge umetnosti, aktivizma, civilnog društva, i naravno javnih institucija, u rekonstrukciji prošlosti i preoblikovanju javne sfere (ili sfera).

Rečnik migracija i Muzej Jugoslavije. Ako pretpostavimo da jezik određuje način na koji razumemo stvarnost i da noseći pojmovi ne moraju biti samo „pokazatelji društvenih promena" već i „delatni okvir za promene",[14] onda se aktivna uloga u njihovoj artikulaciji takođe može tretirati kao jedan oblik angažmana, koji stoji nasuprot nekritičkom, pa čak i kritičkom preuzimanju hegemonih pojmovnih odrednica. Ipak, uvek treba imati na umu da iako pomažu u orijentaciji „izdvajajući bitno iz nepregledne realnosti",[15] pojmovi imaju i veliku manipulativnu moć. Da bi se izbegle manipulacije, ni osvetljavanje konteksta nekad nije dovoljno, posebno pošto je sam kontekst uvek dvosmislen ili bar ne jednoznačan, pa ni njega ne treba mitologizovati i apsolutizovati.[16] Otuda prihvatamo da je krajnji učinak ovakve metodologije u celosti otvoren, te u pojedinim aspektima može proizvesti i efekat depolitizacije ili deistorizacije. To bi zapravo podrazumevalo rizičnu univerzalizaciju i esencijalizaciju iskustava koje, nikako ne trebe zaboraviti, ipak u prvom redu referiraju na vrlo specifičan istorijski i politički kontekst devedesetiih u Srbiji i nekadašnjim jugoslovenskim republikama.

Međutim, smatrajući da muzej kao javni prostor treba da podstiče sučeljavanje glasova iz različitih registara ali ne u cilju njihove neutralizacije i pacifikacije, već upravo radi demonstriranja razlika oko kojih nekad ne može biti konsenzusa, na ovoj izložbi ciljano su ukrštene različite pozicije koje smatramo relevantnim u

13 Citat je pozajmljen iz naziva seminalnog eseja Artura Dantoa. Vidi: Arthur C. Danto, „The Transfiguration of the Commonplace", *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 33, No. 2, 1974, 139–148.

14 T. Kuljić, *nav. delo*, 26.

15 *Isto*, 70.

16 *Isto*, 72.

zadatom problemskom okviru. Njih je moguće sagledati najmanje na dva nivoa. Najpre, osetna je „tenzija" između ideološki različitih umetničko-aktivističkih pozicija, ali istovremeno i između dva „rečnika" koji pripadaju sferi „neekspertskog" i „ekspertskog znanja", a kojima se na ovoj izložbi sinhrono osvetljavaju isti događaji i fenomeni. Ta sučeljavanja stoje u službi preispitivanja odnosa hegemonih i kontrahegemonih diskursa, kao i uloge umetnosti, civilnog društva, aktivizma i kulturnih institucija u njihovoj proizvodnji ili reprodukciji u javnoj sferi. Važno je reći da se javna sfera ovde razume kao nekoherentno mnoštvo različitih prostora u kojima vlada pluralizam glasova među kojima se neprestano odvija borba za hegemoni diskurs. Prema političkoj teoriji belgijske filozofkinje Šantal Muf (Chantal Mouffe), „hegemonističke konfrontacije" ne odvijaju se samo u okviru tradicionalnih političkih struktura poput institucija zakonodavne i izvršne vlasti već i u domenu kulture, civilnog sektora, umetničkih praksi i aktivizma, gde se pod određenim uslovima može stvoriti platforma za proizvodnju tzv. agonističke javne sfere,[17] koja, po njenom shvatanju, isključuje svaku fikciju konsenzusa. Cilj ovakvih konfrontacija bio bi zapravo da se „ublaži potencijal neprijateljstava omogućavajući da se društveni antagonizmi transformišu u agonizme[18] ili, drugim rečima, da se izbegne da onaj ko je „drugačiji, drugi, postane Drugi", odnosno „neprijatelj, i neko ko preti mom opstanku",[19] a što je definicija društvenog antagonizma. Najzad, agonistička javna sfera znači „odustati od ideala pomirenog demokratskog društva" i „uvažiti protivnika, legitimnog neprijatelja, s kojim se deli konfliktni konsenzus, na način da protivnici koji se bore jedni protiv drugih ne dovode u pitanje legitimnost pozicije onih drugih".[20] Verujemo da Muzej Jugoslavije, zbog svih ambivalentnosti koje jugoslovensko nasleđe rezonira u lokalnom kontekstu, nužno predstavlja ne samo zahvalnu već i izuzetno važnu platformu za takva sučeljavanja.

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17 Chantal Mouffe, „Strategies of radical politics and aesthetic resistance", 2014. Pristupljeno: 16. 9. 2019. http://truth.steirischerherbst.at/texts/?p=19

18 Simon Šejk razvija svoje tezu oslanjajući se na političku teoriju Šantal Muf. Više o tome vidi u: Simon Sheikh, „Public Spheres and the Functions of Progressive Art Institutions", 2004. http://eipcp.net/transversal/0504/sheikh/en/print.html, pristupljeno 16. 9. 2019.

19 Biljana Đorđević, „Agonistički pristup raspravama o budućnosti demokratije u Evropi", *Časopis Humanističke studije, Vol. 4*, Univerzitet Donja Gorica, 2018, 14.

20 *Isto*, 13.

A Glossary of Migrations: One Plausible Interpretation of the Nineties

Because we are always caught in the middle of a network of historically constructed concepts and practices, every story, including those produced by museums, necessarily begins *in medias res*. Apart from there not being any absolute" beginning from which any historical narrative can start, the challenges of storytelling are all the greater because each time has its own operational concepts that does not have rigidly defined semantic frameworks, but is involved in constant struggles and negotiations around a hegemonic system of meaning. In other words, locating the beginning of a story means constructing it, "putting things into context," producing a (desirable) context for interpretation, as well as conceptually articulating underlying problems, which suggests interpretation rather than the objective mapping of facts. Therefore, even the fragmentary articulation of each of the terms comprising the title of the exhibition *The Nineties: A Glossary of Migrations*, prepared by the Museum of Yugoslavia in 2019, is by no means and cannot be a neutral act.

The Nineties. During the 1990s, there were at least three interrelated processes at work in the region of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: the disintegration of state unity, the collapse of the socialist socio-economic order and the rearticulation of all cohesive ideological and symbolic formations (the heritage of the anti-fascist and people's liberation struggle, the brotherhood and unity ideology, the ideology of Yugoslavism – to name just a few). Although, these processes did not begin in the 1990s, it was in that decade that they were dramatically radicalized, fundamentally altering the Yugoslav political, social, economic, and cultural space. "Non-violent" secession and armed conflicts created so-called nation-states, legitimized by the creation of new or the rearticulation of old nationalist myths, followed by the revitalization of ethnic and religious divisions. In addition to legitimizing wars and newly formed political entities, national-populist discourses successfully stifled the class basis and economic goals

of the war conflicts, rationalizing transitional neo-liberal strategies and introducing most of the new states to the so-called peripheral capitalism countries zone.

Migrations. The traumatic effects of this process are felt not only by the citizens of all the states created after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, but partly, also, by those who permanently left the country in the nineties. Mass migrations of the population that were ongoing throughout the decade were one of the most obvious indicators of the mentioned processes. According to causal reductionist views, the *displacement* of the local population within the former republics is most often treated as the goal,[1] not the consequence of radical nationalistic politics that affirmed the homogenization of the local population on an ethnic basis. Also, the same reductionist views are the starting point of the view that *emigration* was primarily the result of destructive political processes, economic breakdown and fear of mobilization,[2] while the *organized immigration* of Chinese citizens in the second half of the 1990s is interpreted to be an obvious indicator of the start of the implementation of neoliberal transitional measures.[3]

The Nineties: A Glossary of Migrations. All three migration flows (displacement, emigration, immigration), with a corpus of social, legal, political and cultural issues they directly produced, will become the subject not only of public policy and academic research,[4] but also the frame of reference for action in the fields of *art, activism and civil society*. The exhibition *The Nineties: A Glossary of Migrations* maps different forms of engagement through which the protagonists in the fields of art, activism and the civil sector addressed the problems caused by mass migrations to Serbia and from Serbia during the decade being dealt with. The primary focus of the exhibition is directed towards marking art positions and practices, while the choice of activist initiatives and organizations is exclusively centered on those that either involved, in their work, cooperation

1 M. Bobić, „Migracije, demografsko-sociološka analiza", u: I. Milenković (ur.), *Studije o izbeglištvu*, Beograd, 2005, 124.

2 For more on people's motivations to leave Yugoslavia in the nineties, cf.: J. R. Despić, *Migracije visokoobrazovanih lica iz srbije od 1991. godine u Kanadu i Sjedinjene Američke Države*, doktorska disertacija, Beograd, 2015; M. Korać, *U potrazi za domom*, Beograd, 2012.

3 For more on "transition economy markets" and the migrations of Chinese Nationals to Central and South-East European countries, see: S. Milutinovuć, „Kineski transnacionalni preduzetnici u Budimpešti i Beogradu: u potrazi za tržištima tranzicionih ekonomija", *Sociologija, Vol. XLVII*, 2005, N. 2, 143–160. These causal reductionist understandings of extremely complex processes should under no circumstances imply that the causes and consequences can be clearly distinguished, and that other possible links cannot also be drawn.

4 And, although there is a large production of academic texts on the subject, they are mostly very narrowly oriented, often covering only one aspect of the problem. To the best of our knowledge, no attempt was made to look at and cross-reference all migration processes within a single research project.

with contemporary artists or which were instigated by artists themselves. Of course, this is just one possible overview, which is by no means comprehensive. Aside from intersecting different positions and domains of action, the exhibition also merges different temporalities. Almost half of the presented artworks and activist initiatives were created in the nineties, and in that sense, they stand for extremely important examples of engaged thinking and action at a time when society was being actively traumatized. This is particularly important in the context of art practices and the rare examples of the type that occurred in the first half of the nineties. Essentially, the war period was heavily marked by the phenomenon of so-called "active escapism" (L. Merenik) in art, which implies escapism by creating a "parallel – fictional reality and entirely personal histories that, again, would never have arisen if they did not have (had not had) a cause in actual existential reality, which at certain points surpassed fiction itself."[5] It was not before the second half of the nineties that a greater number of artists was to turn to socially engaged themes, and in 1995, the signing of the Dayton Agreement clearly coincided with such a shift. In addition, the exhibition features art and activist positions that form the basis from which, during the 2000s, the implications of these processes in an already significantly altered political reality were considered; also, it is from these positions that the topic is dealt with today and wherefrom solidarity is demonstrated with the people still living the consequences of the nineties in the present.[6]

As anticipated, the approach to working *in* and *with* such a context is materially different. Regarding art practices, certain artists primarily thematized issues that they directly witnessed, others reflected personal experiences of being a refugee or migrant in a way that may be relevant to the wider community, while others worked face to face with vulnerable communities and individuals, with friends and colleagues, even casual passers-by, establishing different types of relationships through direct encounters and symbolic exchange. Of course, there are those who intersect these methodologies in their work. All these different

5 L. Merenik, „No wawe: 1992–1995", u: D. Sretenović, L. Merenik, *Umetnost u Jugoslaviji 1992–1995*, Beograd, 1996, 28.

6 Certain artworks were recreated for this exhibition, and where that was not possible, documentation on the actions were included. Because of the framing of sensitive issues, it was important to recognize artists, activists and civil society representatives who at their own initiative addressed and activated these themes, and not to commission the works. Regarding new works, they were already being conceptualized when the curators decided to include them in the exhibition. Several artists produced for exhibiting purposes new documentary and art materials that are directly related to their regular art practice or they complement already selected materials for the exhibition. Two video works were produced for the context of the exhibition (Collective Migrative Art, Vesna Pavlović + Women in Black) and three murals (Collective Migrative Art, Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić).

approaches have generated a variety of formal and media articulations such as spatial and ambient installations, drawings, comics, various forms of appropriation, artistic practices that are at the intersection of relational, participatory and performative arts, as well as photographs and videos mostly used in the service of documenting social phenomena and/or art processes and actions. At the same time, their different approaches have produced conflicting discursive positions. In addition to sharing a critical attitude to the context that triggered mass migrations in the 1990s, the artists demonstrated either a primarily negating discourse that initially diagnosed problems, or they developed affirmation discourses, using the art field as platform for reparation, that is, foremost for strengthening interpersonal relationships.

Civil sector representatives and activist initiatives also demonstrate different approaches. By targeting traumatic but not clearly visible social problems, which are often recognized as the subject of various forms of manipulation, part of them opt to research and present their results either in the form of exhibitions in cultural institutions and/or make them available to the public on internet platforms. Others focus primarily on "fieldwork" with vulnerable groups or individuals, helping them build more or less sustainable networks of solidarity. They did, and continue to do so by organizing humanitarian, legal and psychosocial aid, as well as by creating context within which it was/is possible for the members of the community in question, to leave the passive position of aid receiver and achieve permanent self-sufficiency. Also noteworthy is the constant engagement of activist and civil society representatives in alarming the public about the endangerment of refugees' or displaced persons' rights, even providing protection from official and other structures that are not sensitized enough to understand the full complexity of the problem these people face. As already mentioned, a vital component of the otherwise customary activities of certain activists' groups and organizations (workshops, activist and humanitarian actions, public presentations, exhibitions, etc.) also includes cooperation with contemporary artists.

Finally, regardless the different approaches and institutional forms of action, orientationally, it is possible to observe[7] the twenty-nine art, activist and research positions, through six problematized sections: *faces and things, regimes of (non)movement, housing regimes, decisions and coercion, encounters/ networks of solidarity, nations and territories.*

7 In order not to overburden the exhibition with an additional level of interpretation and to divert attention from the "vocabulary structure" we consider to be primary, we dealt with these units only as orientational ones; their titles were working ones, therefore we did not even communicate them in the exhibition space.

The *faces and things* section suggestively guides the observer through the refugees' and displaced persons' personal history registers resulting from the wars of the nineties. The unknown *faces* of people who, for the most part, permanently left Yugoslavia, as well as their alienated or discarded *things* located in the point of separation or operating as links with a long "lost place," inform the observer about the traumatic experiences of forced displacement and sudden "loss of place," and the various "placement strategies" they resorted to in the new environment in order to reconstruct their "disconnected identity." (Vladimir Radojičić, Dušica Dražić, Bálint Szombathy, Aleksandrija Ajduković, Kiosk – Platform for Contemporary Art).

In the second section, artists place emphasis on the restrictive, legal and political mechanisms which, in the 1990s and later, regulated the *(non)movement regimes* of the citizens of Serbia and the region. The artists demonstrated the discriminatory nature of immigration policies and relevant laws on the European Union level, which deprive persons of their citizenship, ethnicity, gender and class. They point to the restrictive visa regime of the 1990s and the role of new citizenship laws, which legitimized the process of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, privileging citizens of the stem ethnic community (Tanja Ostojić, Association "Apsolutno", Goranka Matić).

By mapping the *housing regimes* of refugees, deportees and forcibly displaced persons, the artists, using various means, highlight the grave consequences of housing policies and relevant laws in both the local context and the European Union framework. In some cases, they develop different forms of political action to protect the rights of those who have been left without the option to return to their apartments and homes, or those whose homes have been demolished or are threatened with forced evictions. Also, housing policies issues are problematized through personal memories and the refugees' and displaced persons' emotional experiences of the spaces they once inhabited, casting light on the way these old memories resonate in a state of displacement and in relation to their current surroundings. (Joint Action "The Roof Over Our Heads," Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić, Milorad Mladenović).

Directly or indirectly, the artists question the nature and consequences of the decisions that many in Serbia had to make, as well as those decisions forced upon them in the 1990s. To leave or stay in the country, to serve (willingly or unwillingly) in the military or (at least to try) to avoid mobilization, were *decisions and/or coercion* directly conditioned by the degree of privilege (or lack of it) determined by class, status, gender, age, as symbolic capital (family ties, social networks). Therefore, in the given context, it was difficult to discern between choice and

coercion, that is, between the possibility of stepping out of the discourse of absolute victimization and passivization. (škart/Đo-Dju, G. Matić).

In the context of refugee and migrant experiences, the artists often used the art field as a platform to initiate *encounters*[8] and symbolic exchanges with vulnerable communities and individuals, but also with friends, colleagues, even bystanders, producing or enhancing interpersonal relationships[9] through these encounters (Jusuf Hadžifejzović, Ana Miljanić/Center for Cultural Decontamination, Collective Migrative Art, Ivana Momčilović/Lorent Wanson, Dejan Dimitrijević/Nebojša Šerić Shoba, škart). Activists' initiatives, which also involve direct meetings with vulnerable individuals or communities, developed extremely significant *networks of solidarity*, not only in the form of providing humanitarian, legal and psychosocial assistance, but also by permanently empowering refugees and displaced persons (Group 484, Women in Black).

In the last problematized section, the artists and researchers raise some of the locally most sensitive political issues of the nineties, questioning, among other things, the relationship between *nations and (their) territories*. In this context, the artists and researchers problematize the ethnically motivated expulsions of the population from Serbia and to Serbia, as well as the consequences faced by citizens who suffered these "transfers" and the accompanying processes of "territorializing national identities."[10] At the same time, key political mechanisms and discourses producing and legitimizing those operations were marked and, ultimately, they continue to be legitimized or relativized today and supported by discourses of (self)victimization. Finally, the artists also dealt with the issue of the organized immigration of Chinese citizens, which were politically and economically motivated in the context of the implementation of neoliberal transitory measures (Milena Maksimović, Čedomir Vasić, Nikola Radić Lucati, Vahida Ramujkić/Dionis Escorsa, Vojvodina Civic Center, Association "Kardan").

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8 The suggestive syntagm "impossible encounters" is constructed by the members of the Collective Migrative Art who approach them as key artworks and interventions. The collective was made up of "artists from the former Yugoslav area in exile, and invitations to encounters and gatherings were forwarded to artists from the post-Yugoslav space." For more, see: M. Marković, „Migracija kao nužnost: umjetničko djelovanje kolektiva migrative art 1991–1996.", *Život umjetnosti*, 101, 2017, 114–135.

9 Art practices of the nineties in a global context were dominantly defined by the occurrence of relational aesthetics, which was theoretically articulated by Nicolas Bourriaud. Relational art includes different forms of participatory and collaborative practices and, according to Bourriaud, the art form itself is equated with "the domain of human interrelationships and their social context." For more, see: N. Bourriaud, *Relacijska estetika; Postprodukcija: kultura kao scenarij: kako umjetnost reprogramira suvremeni svijet*, Zagreb, 2013.

10 For more on the concept of "national identity territorialization," see: L. Malki, „Nacionalna geografija: ukorenjivanje ljudi i teritorijalizacija nacionalnog identiteta iz ugla teoretičara i izbeglica," u: I. Milenković (ur.), *Studije o izbeglištvu*, Beograd, 2005, 29–63.

A Glossary of Migrations. The map of the various forms of engaged thought and action that this exhibition provides, allows us not only to get acquainted with the ways in which the represented protagonists, at different periods, treated the complex corpus of problems in question, but such a map should stipulate a context for questioning their possible impact on the reshaping of hegemonic discourses and concepts that dominate the public sphere. In order to do so, ruling discourses and concepts were included in the exhibition, however, on the level of secondary narrative lines, and they can be followed through a selection of particular laws, political agreements, national strategies, fragments of academic research, official statistical reports and other documents, which were selected by the curators and all participants of the exhibition.

Bearing in mind the traumatic background of the 1990s migration trends in Serbia, it is necessary to clearly articulate the basic challenges of this project, since they motivated the key methodological and curatorial explanations on which the concept and structure of the exhibition rests. Namely, at the very beginning of research it became clear that the corpus of the problem in question navigated (us) towards the reproduction of several very controversial concepts and discourses, and that the "methodological nationalism"[11] that defines the thematic framework of the exhibition would further boost this. Two of the most controversial discourses that we as curators came across involved the affirmation of "counting the exiled" or "displaced" on a national and ethnic basis, and fixating the subject of migration as "displaced" individual, which was the direct result of the logic of the legal-bureaucratic apparatus and identity politics. Such a discursive framework objectifies "the displaced" as a problem that should, as a rule, be solved through technical and administrative means, neutralizing therefore, or completely erasing all class, racial and gender discriminatory immigration politics. In addition, such a discourse of the subjects' "displacement" implicitly normalizes the state of "rootedness" and belonging, especially to the nation-state of origin.

Because of all of the above, we realized that it was necessary to highlight the controversial discourses in the exhibition, even though this implied that they would, in part, be directly or indirectly reproduced. Therefore, we tried to find a way, besides the hegemonic one, to generate a new vocabulary that would at least temporarily rearticulate such dominant concepts and discourses. Namely, all the artists were invited to, in collaboration with the curators, choose a term,

11 In the context of the exhibition *The Nineties: A Glossary of Migrations*, methodological nationalism implies the problematization of mass migrations *to and from Serbia*, defined, due to a lack of resources, to be conducted as comprehensive research on a regional level.

syntagm or idiom that they thought articulated the position of the work, initiative or community in the most accurate way – of course, primarily from the perspective of the exhibition's problematic focus – and they were also asked to write a statement explaining that choice. It was possible to think either of returning "banished" terms, or of choosing some counterintuitive, even poetic and extremely personal idioms and syntagms, or of, ultimately, indicating the controversial implications of various euphemisms and technical terms from the legal-bureaucratic register that define or "solve" the problems in question.

As "the same events can not only be told in different ways, but also be varyingly conceptualized,"[12] the already mentioned secondary narrative line was introduced to the exhibition, which can be followed through select official documents. The exhibition's register partially illuminates the contexts in which the artworks and activist initiatives are created – such as housing for refugees and displaced persons, readmission, desertion, refugees' forced mobilization, the diaspora, legislation determining the conditions of expelled persons' return and 1990s citizenship regimes in Yugoslavia – or to which they implicitly refer. Thus, a different, primarily legal and administrative "vocabulary" was introduced and countered, through which it is necessary to reflect on these problems, since the decisions of the highest state representatives, as well as various public policy measures and legislative procedures largely define the status of people affected by migrations. The "alternative" glossary produced by the participants in the exhibition, by no means claims to simplify the complexity of the problems it addresses. It is more likely that it is an attempt to temporarily condense them within the art and activism register in order to test the path towards the "transfiguration of the commonplace"[13] that incessantly dictates our thoughts and actions, thus, opening also the question of the role of art, activism, civil society and, of course, public institutions, in the reconstruction of the past and reshaping the public sphere.

A Glossary of Migrations and the Museum of Yugoslavia. Assuming that language determines how we understand reality and that underlying notions do not necessarily have to be "indicators of social change" but also "a working framework for change,"[14] then, an active role in their articulation can also be treated as a form of engagement that is opposite to the uncritical and even critical take on

12 T. Kuljić, *Prognani pojmovi, Neoliberalna pojmovna revizija misli o društvu*, Beograd, 2018, 32.

13 The citation is borrowed from the title of the seminal essay by Arthur Danto. Reč je o tekstu: Arthur C. Danto, "The Transfiguration of the Commonplace," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 33, No. 2, 1974, 139–148.

14 T. Kuljić, *Ibid.*, 26.

hegemonic conceptual definitions. Nevertheless, one should always bear in mind that even though they may be helpful to our orientation, by "selecting what is important from an impenetrable reality,"[15] concepts also have great manipulative power. In order to avoid manipulation, even "illuminating" the context is sometimes insufficient, especially since "context itself is always ambiguous or at least not equivocal, and it should not be mythologized and absolutized."[16] Therefore, we accept that the ultimate effect of such a methodology is entirely open-ended, and in some respects it can produce the effect of depoliticization or dehistoricization, which would in fact imply the risky universalization and essentialization of experiences that, it should by no means be forgotten, nonetheless primarily refers to the very specific historical and political context of Serbia and the former Yugoslav republics in the 1990s.

However, being of the opinion that the museum as public space should encourage the confrontation of voices from different registers, not to neutralize and pacify them, but precisely to demonstrate differences over which there can sometimes be no consensus, this exhibition purposely intersected different positions which we consider to be relevant in the given problematic frame. It is possible to observe them on at least two levels. First of all, there is a "tension" between ideologically different art and activist positions, and at the same time between two "vocabularies" belonging to the so-called sphere of "non-expert" and "expert knowledge" which in this exhibition synchronously illuminate the same events and phenomena. These confrontations serve to examine the relationship between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses, as well as the role of art, civil society, activism and cultural institutions in their production or reproduction in the public sphere. It is important to mention that, in this case, the public sphere implies an incoherent multitude of different spaces in which the pluralism of voices reigns, among which the struggle for hegemonic discourse is constant. According to the political theory of Belgian philosopher Chantal Mouffe, "hegemonic confrontations" are never limited to traditional political structures such as institutions of legislative and executive power; we also find them in the domain of culture, civil sector, art and activist practices, where under certain circumstances it is possible to create a platform for the production of a so-called agonistic public space,[17] which, in her opinion, excludes any fiction

15 *Ibid.*, 70.

16 *Ibid.*, 72.

17 Chantal Mouffe, "Strategies of radical politics and aesthetic resistance," 2014. Accessed: 16.9.2019. http://truth.steirischerherbst.at/texts/?p=19

of consensus. The purpose of these confrontations would be to "defuse the potential of hostility that exists in human societies by providing the possibility for antagonism to be transformed into 'agonism,'"[18] or, in other words, to avoid having the "different, other, from becoming the *Other*," that is, "the enemy, and someone who threatens my survival,"[19] which is the definition of social antagonism. In conclusion, the agonistic public sphere means to "relinquish the ideals of a reconciled democratic society" and "to regard one's adversary, the legitimate enemy, with whom the conflicting consensus is shared, in such a way that the adversaries fighting each other do not question the legitimacy of the position of one another."[20] We believe that the Museum of Yugoslavia, because of all of the ambivalences that resonate Yugoslav heritage in the local context, necessarily represents not only a productive, but also an extremely important platform for such confrontations.

18 Simon Sheikh develops his thesis by relying on Chantal Mouffe's political theory. For more, see: Simon Sheikh, „Public Spheres and the Functions of Progressive Art Institutions", 2004. http://eipcp.net/transversal/0504/sheikh/en/print.html, pristupljeno 16.9.2019.

19 Biljana Đorđević, „Agonistički pristup raspravama o budućnosti demokratije u Evropi", *Časopis Humanističke studije*, Vol. 4, Univerzitet Donja Gorica, 2018, 14.

20 *Ibid.*, 13.

Politička mitologija devedesetih

Muzej i politike sećanja na devedesete

Muzej Jugoslavije skoro dve decenije pruža institucionalni okvir projektima i umetnicima koji iskazuju svoj aktivan i/ili kritički stav prema društvu u kome žive. U prostoru Muzeja mogle su se videti različite perspektive i širok raspon tema kojima su se umetnici bavili rekontekstualizujući zajedničku prošlost. Već 2001. godine Muzej Jugoslavije je otvorio vrata izložbi koju je organizovao Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju *Dosije Srbija. Procena stvarnosti 90-ih: završnica* nakon njenog premijernog prikazivanja u Beču godinu dana ranije. Zgrada Muzeja „25. maj" odabrana je zbog svog simboličkog značaja i za ovu izložbu i za predstavu *Bordel ratnika*, takođe u produkciji Centra za kulturnu dekontaminaciju, iste godine u okviru Bitefa. Rediteljka Ana Miljanić provela je gledaoce kroz prazan muzej odbačene jugoslovenske prošlosti predstavljajući razgradnju nadnacionalnog jugoslovenskog identiteta koji zamenjuje nacionalni srpski. Usledile su ambijentalne instalacije Nikole Rikanovića *Leptir natčovek* posvećene ubijenom premijeru Đinđiću 2004. godine u istom prostoru. Paralelno s aktiviranjem prostora Muzeja kustosi sakupljaju artefakte, pre svega političke plakate i druge predizborne materijale iako ne znaju u koju bi ih zbirku smestili, svesni činjenice da su svedoci važnih istorijskih dešavanja i da im je neprocenjiv muzejski materijal nadohvat ruke. Na izložbi *Jugoslavija od početka do kraja* Muzej je prvi put izložio neke od tih predmeta i dotakao se u našem društvu i istoriografiji još uvek nedovoljno obrađenih i bolnih tema poput ratova 1990-ih i njihovih posledica i procesa dezintegracije Jugoslavije. Većina predmeta sakupljenih 1990-ih izložena je trenutno u *Muzejskoj laboratoriji* u segmentu koji prikazuje nove akvizicije Muzeja od 1996. godine do danas uz selekciju predmeta i ličnih sećanja građana na devedesete iz Muzeja objekata, koji je i sam postao deo fonda Muzeja Jugoslavije 2017. godine.[1]

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1 Muzejska laboratorija je druga faza rada na stalnoj postavci, a otvorena je u maju 2017. godine, koja je počela predstavljanjem fonda Muzeja nastalog posle 1996. godine. Muzej objekata inicirali su Fond Biljana Kovačević Vučo i Platforma za savremenu umetnost Kiosk. https://www.muzej-jugoslavije.org/exhibition/laboratorija-muzeja-jugoslavije/

Zašto je važno da se Muzej Jugoslavije bavi 1990-im? Dugo se unutar Muzeja raspravljalo da li tačku staviti na 1991. godinu kada se raspala SFRJ ili se protegnuti do 2003. kada reč Jugoslavija nestaje iz imena države u kojoj su pod imenom Savezna Republika Jugoslavija ostale samo još Srbija i Crna Gora, čija se državna zajednica raspala 2006. godine. Ne obrađujemo devedesete zbog postojanja te države koja nije počivala na jugoslovenskoj ideji, već na lukrativnoj želji da se postigne kontinuitet s prethodnom državom i tako zadrže razne institucije, nazivi, članstva i međunarodni statusi. Obrađujemo ih zato što se kroz prizmu devedesetih danas sagledava ceo jugoslovenski period umesto da proučavajući Jugoslaviju razumemo kako je bilo moguće da se desi njen krvavi raspad, kada su nastale prve krize, koji su to destabilizujući elementi nagrizali Jugoslaviju, a koji nacionalistički izlivi prećutkivani i kako su suzbijani tokom trajanja Jugoslavije.

Kreiranje kolektivnog sećanja

Isti ti događaji iz prošlosti korišćeni su kao mobilizacijsko sredstvo u vreme ratova 90-ih kao dokaz da su sukobi između naroda na ovim prostorima večni, neizbežni i nužni,[2] a s tim promenama tumačenja događaja iz prošlosti počelo se već krajem 1980-ih kao ideološka i psihološka priprema za rat. Istorija je pretrpela velike promene, nadnacionalne komunističke ideje zamenio je nacionalistički diskurs, slika drugih, susednih naroda bivala je sve crnja, pisana je nova istorija sukoba s ciljem da se u kratkom roku promeni pozitivna predstava o dojučerašnjem prijatelju, novopečenom neprijatelju i ojača nacionalni identitet i ponos. „Novoproizvedena istorija trebalo je da dokaže da su Srbi uvek bili na pravoj strani, da nikada nisu vodili osvajačke ratove, da su bili istorijski pobednici i da nisu činili ništa nažao svojim susedima." Važan element nacionalnog identiteta postaje viktimizacija i proizvodnja sećanja o sopstvenoj naciji kao istorijskoj žrtvi.[3]

Upravo taj antikomunistički diskurs i nacionalizam elite oličeni su u intelektualcima preobraženim u nacionaliste, čije je zauzimanje za demokratske promene išlo u kombinaciji sa zahtevima za samostalnu nacionalnu državu.[4] S druge strane, Maja Korać uzrok porasta nacionalizma kod običnih ljudi, dojučerašnjih komšija, vidi u nedovršenoj socijalističkoj modernizaciji i objašnjava vezu između urbanizacije koju nije pratila integracija ruralnog stanovništva u urbani

2 H. Klasić, *Bijelo na crno. Lekcije iz prošlosti za budućnost*, Ljevak, Zagreb, 2019, 79.

3 D. Stojanović, „U ogledalu 'drugih'", u: V. Dimitrijević (ur.), *Novosti iz prošlosti*, Beogradski centar za ljudska prava, Beograd 2010, 14.

4 J. Dragović-Soso, *„Spasioci nacije": Intelektualna opozicija Srbije i oživljavanje nacionalizma*, Fabrika knjiga, Beograd, 2004, 33.

milje, zbog čega je ponovo oživljen etnički nacionalizam nakon ukidanja državnog socijalizma, koje je aktiviralo početak krize ličnog i kolektivnog identiteta stanovništva, podstičući osećaj nesigurnosti i društvene i ekonomske i gubitka čvrstog tla pod nogama.[5] U korenu svega leži strah izazvan duboko ukorenjenim stereotipima. Podsećanjem na masakre i komemoracijama žrtvama iz Drugog svetskog rata namerno se pokreću spirale straha i nasilja s ciljem da razlika u nacionalnosti preovlada nad bliskošću suseda, bude se stari strahovi i sumnje, a komšije se pretvaraju u zločince. Komšijski svakodnevni odnosi su miroljubivi, sve dok je država u stanju da svojom politikom garantuje taj stabilan karakter. Čim ona prestane da to čini, zajednice se okreću jedna protiv drugih, skreće se u zločin i međuetničko nasilje, a sigurnost se traži među „etnički svojima” kroz proterivanje Drugih, što je preduslov za početak rata i etničkog čišćenja.[6]

Da je nacionalizam bitan, ako ne i najbitniji faktor nestanka Jugoslavije, slažu se skoro svi koji su se bavili ovom temom, s razlikom u tome koliki mu značaj pridaju u procesu nestajanja Jugoslavije i u čemu vide osnovnu nacionalističku suprotnost, da li je srpsko-hrvatska osa rivaliteta bila odlučujuća za raspad Jugoslavije ili su srpsko-slovenački rivalski odnosi doveli do kraja Jugoslavije.[7] Neretko se veliki značaj pridaje i spoljnim činiocima i velikim silama, koji su levičarska tumačenja doveli do ekstrema objašnjavajući raspad Jugoslavije kao posledicu globalizacije i pritiska međunarodnih finansijskih ustanova na sprovođenje neoliberalnih reformi. Po njima je Jugoslaviju trebalo razbiti jer je bila pretnja u smislu potencijalnog alternativnog modela društvenog razvoja nakon pada Berlinskog zida i raspada SSSR, socijalistička alternativa kapitalističkom razvoju. Uloga zapadnih sila u procesu dezintegracije je nesporna, ali kada se insistira na presudnoj ulozi spoljašnjih i ekonomskih faktora, lokalne vlasti se na neki način aboliraju, oslobađaju se odgovornosti jer je neko drugi kriv. Po Jovu Bakiću, nacionalizam se mora uzeti u obzir prilikom tumačenja raspada višenacionalne države. Tek kada su u Jugoslaviji počeli sukobi s etničkom podlogom i pojavila se težnja za poklapanjem etničkih i političkih granica, otvoren je prostor za razaračko delovanje stranog činioca. Nacionalizam kao najbitniji unutrašnji činilac nestanka Jugoslavije bio je neophodan uslov za dezintegraciju jugoslovenske federacije kojoj su značajan doprinos svojim (ne)delovanjem dale i evropska zajednica i SAD.[8]

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5 M. Korać, *U potrazi za domom*, Zavod za udžbenike, 2012, 60–61.

6 K. Bugarel, *Bosna. Anatomija rata*, Fabrika knjiga, Beograd, 118–142.

7 J. Bakić, *Jugoslavija – razaranje i njegovi tumači*, JP Službeni glasnik i Filozofski fakultet Beograd, Beograd, 2011, 319–342.

8 *Isto*, 532–540.

Prethodni mit o bratstvu i jedinstvu trebalo je zameniti novim mitom o fatalnom istorijskom sukobu južnoslovenskih naroda, izbrisati sećanje na socijalističku revoluciju i Narodnooslobodilačku borbu, koja decenijama nakon Drugog svetskog rata ostaje jedan od najjačih homogenizujućih društvenih i integrativnih faktora u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji.

Po Klodu Levi-Strosu (Claude Lévi-Strauss), mitovi pre svega daju informacije o društvu i vremenu u kome su nastali i načinu na koji to društvo funkcioniše.[9] Svakom kolektivnom identitetu potrebni su zajedničko i jedinstveno tumačenje istorije i kolektivno pamćenje, jer ako nema pamćenja, nema ni identiteta ni nacije.[10] Mit je interpretacija i upotreba istorije čija je glavna svrha da daje legitimitet vlasti koja tu istoriju koristi i poziva se na nju . Politička mitologija idealizuje prošlost, istorijski događaji i ličnosti se posmatraju nekritički, romantizuju se i stavljaju u funkciju sadašnjih ideologija i struktura vlasti.[11] Pretvaranje istorije u mit, smatra Antoni Smit (Anthony D. Smith), ključna je karakteristika nacionalnog identiteta. Prvo i osnovno obeležje nacionalnog identiteta je istorijska teritorija, kolevka naroda koja je njenim pripadnicima „sveta", koja im pripada, kao i oni njoj.[12] Mit o teritoriji ima izuzetnu važnost zbog emotivne veze koju stvara među članovima društva i čini ga stabilnim i homogenim. Nacije su nezamislive bez zajedničkih mitova o teritorijalnom zavičaju i sećanju na njega.[13] To je ono što domovinu čini jedinstvenom, a njena prirodna obeležja dobijaju za narod istorijski značaj i postaju mesta hodočašća.

Masovnim sistemima obrazovanja vlast usađuje nacionalnu odanost,[14] a jedan od najvažnijih zadataka koji svaka država sebi postavlja jeste utemeljenje i sistemsko održavanje postavljenog mita preko svog ideološkog aparata koji obuhvata različite institucije, u koje između ostalog spadaju: religijski, školski, porodični, pravni, politički, sindikalni, informacioni, kulturni državni ideološki aparat.[15] Uspeh proizvodnje istorijskih mitova zavisi od uspešnosti slanja poruka

9 C. Lévi-Strauss, *Introduction to a Science of Mythology, Vol. 4*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1981, 639.

10 V. Gržinić, „Jugoslavensko trojstvo: rad, mladost i Republika. Obilježavanje socijalističkih praznika u Istri", u: I. Duda (ur.) *Radionica za suvremenu povijest. Istraživanja diplomanata pulskog Sveučilišta 2011–2013*, Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli i Srednja Europa, Pula–Zagreb, 2013, 72.

11 V. Perica, M. Velikonja, *Nebeska Jugoslavija: interakcija političkih mitologija i pop-kulture*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2012, 20–21.

12 A. D. Smit, *Nacionalni identitet*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 1998, 23.

13 Lj. Despotović, „Politički mitovi socijalizma od komunizma do boljševizma", u: *Mitovi epohe socijalizma*, Centar za istoriju, demokratiju i pomirenje i Fakultet za evropske pravno-političke studije, Novi Sad, 2010, 8.

14 A. Smit, *nav. delo*, 31–71.

15 L. Althusser, *Ideologija i ideološki državni aparati*, Karpos, Beograd, 2009, 88–89.

različitim kanalima. Njihov uspeh ima snažan mobilizacijski potencijal u formiranju javnosti i društvene i istorijske svesti, kao važnom faktoru koji čini sistem vrednosti jednog društva.[16] Uticaj propagandnih poruka i posledice koje su one imale na građane tek će se videti u budućnosti, ali indikativno je istraživanje koje je od 19. do 29. marta 2010. godine Beogradski centar za ljudska prava sproveo na reprezentativnom uzorku od 1086 građana starijih od 18 godina s ciljem istraživanja istorijske svesti u Srbiji. Dobijeni su poražavajući rezultati, po kojima je u svesti većine građana svako učešće Srbije u ratovima bilo opravdano (70% građana tvrdi da je Srbija uvek vodila samo odbrambene ratove), a polovina populacije je ubeđena da je u svim ratovima Srbija bila na pobedničkoj strani. Izostalo je preispitivanje uloge Srbije u ratovima devedesetih, pa tako polovina misli da su za ratove najodgovorniji Hrvati, a na drugom mestu Slovenci. Građani Srbije su pokazali ogromno neznanje o pitanjima koja se tiču počinjenih zločina. Preko 70% tvrdi da ne zna za zločin u Sjeverinu kada je ubijeno 16 srpskih građana bošnjačke nacionalnosti, trećina ispitanika ne zna šta se dogodilo u Srebrenici, 40% ne zna ko je bombardovao Dubrovnik, a samo 13% zna da je Sarajevo bilo pod opsadom više od tri godine, dok čak 20% građana negira da je Sarajevo ikad bilo pod opsadom. Uznemiruje činjenica da su najveće predrasude i najveće neznanje pokazali najmlađi ispitanici rođeni između 1981. i 1992. godine, što potvrđuje uspeh usađenih obrazaca onima koji su se školovali devedesetih u atmosferi netolerancije. Snažan etnocentrizam ispitanika potpuno je u skladu s visoko etnocentričnom politikom sećanja u Srbiji koja i pored nekih pozitivnih pomaka u službenoj i javnoj politici sećanja ostaje u okvirima etnocentričnog uverenja da je srpski narod najveća žrtva ratova na području bivše Jugoslavije, a što se odgovornosti tiče, ona se individualizuje i/ili relativizuje time što su „zločine činile sve zaraćene strane".[17] Odnos prema prošlosti nije jednoznačan, kontekstualan je i po potrebi se menja kako bi odgovarao našim današnjim identitetima u skladu sa tzv. sindromom samoposluge, kada u prošlost ulazite kao u samoposlugu da biste uzeli samo ono što vam u tom trenutku treba i koliko vam treba.[18] U javnom diskursu se i dalje negiraju zločini koji su se sprovodili u ime nacije, na snazi je već dugo kultura poricanja, zločini se individualizuju i trivijalizuju predstavljajući se kao eksces za koji su odgovorni kriminalci, a ne državne strukture, uz stalno traženje simetrije stradanja i zločina kojih je bilo na svim stranama, čime se

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16 A. Smit, *nav. delo*, 31–71.

17 N. Govedarica, „Zemlja nesigurne prošlosti" u: T. Banjeglav, N. Govedarica, D. Karačić, *Revizija prošlosti. Politike sećanja u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji od 1990. godine*, ACIPS i Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Sarajevo, 2012, 208.

18 H. Klasić, *nav. delo*, 80.

umanjuje odgovornost. Ratovi devedestih se sve češće provlače u javnom diskursu kroz kontinuitet sa antifašističkom borbom iz Drugog svetskog rata koji se gradi na simbolici žrtve srpskog naroda. I pored deklarativnih izjava zvaničnika i oficijelne politike pomirenja i dijaloga, ni skoro tri decenije kasnije građanstvo se nije suočilo s neugodnim činjenicama u cilju sprečavanja njihovog ponavljanja u budućnosti. Osetljivost na nepravde nanete Srbima kao naciji ili građanima Srbije bez obzira na etničku pripadnost ne bi trebalo da nas čini neosetljivim na nepravde koje su trpeli susedi i bivši sugrađani u procesu nestajanja Jugoslavije. Do konsenzusa ko je prvi počeo i ko je više stradao verovatno se nikada, ili bar ne u skorijoj budućnosti, neće doći, ali ne umanjujući srpsku žrtvu, morali bismo da naučimo da na zločine gledamo bez nacionalnog predznaka. Rečima Milorada Pupovca: „Tokom ovih gotovo deset ratnih godina mnogi su Srbi počinili zločine i izazvali patnje drugih. Da su to učinili u saobraćajnim nezgodama vozeći se u svojim autima, to bi u prvom redu bila njihova stvar. Budući da su to uradili pod srpskim stijegom ili za srpsku stvar, u ratu u kojem su Srbi bili na jednoj, a drugi na drugoj strani, mi ne možemo izbjeći osjećaju odgovornosti za počinjene zločine. Kažem, osjećaju odgovornosti, a ne osjećaju krivice, jer krivci su počinioci, a oni trebaju imati ime i prezime (...) Bez sposobnosti i spremnosti da se suočimo sa zločinima koje je netko počinio u srpsko ime i pod srpskim imenom, mi ćemo i sebe i svoja pokoljenja učiniti žrtvama tog zločina."[19]

„Izbeglice – gosti iz rata" [20]

(Samo)viktimizacija je na delu i kod izbegličkog pitanja koje je tretirano kao nešto što je Srbiju zadesilo poput elementarne nepogode i za šta nije odgovorna, već trpi posledice rata u kome nije učestvovala i postavlja se kao pasivni objekat tuđeg nepravednog delovanja. Pasivnu ulogu žrtve i izgradnju narativa kroz dobro poznate nacionalne mitove i ikonične predstave seobe Srba iz udžbenika odlično ilustruje stav prof. dr Ranka Petkovića: „Nama u SR Jugoslaviji, od najranijih vremena do danas, nije bilo suđeno da na problem izbeglica, prognanika i raseljenih lica gledamo sa spokojne distance, kao na patnje ljudske solidarnosti sa onima koji stradaju i pate. Bilo nam je suđeno da to bude ne samo naš ljudski već i nacionalni problem. Naša nacionalna istorija puna je prizora poput onih sa uljanih slika o seobi Srba pod Arsenijem Čarnojevićem do onih koje su se nedavno

19 D. Markovina, *Povijest poraženih*, Naklada Jasenski i Turk, Zagreb, 2015, 110–111.

20 Naslov je pozajmljen iz jedne replike u grafičkoj noveli *Nemirno more* Helene Klakočar, umetnice koja je, između ostalog, radila unutar grupe Migrative Art, zastupljene na izložbi „Devedesete: Rečnik migracija". H. Klakočar, *Nemirno more 2*, Bratstvo i jedinstvo, Fabrika knjiga, Beograd, 2009, 32.

zbile pred našim očima, kada su reke izbeglica i prognanika iz Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine potražile spas i utočište u SR Jugoslaviji."[21]

U apsolutnom broju, najveći broj migranata u regionu imale su Srbija i Crna Gora sa 626.000 lica u 2000. godini, od kojih su tri četvrtine izbeglice, kao što su imale i najveći broj emigranata koji žive u zemljama OECD-a, i to preko milion stanovnika.[22] Zašto te ljude nije dočekalo raširenih ruku domicilno stanovništvo, pitanje je pre svega psihologije, ali i ekonomije. Kako je socijalistički režim državljanstva bio zamenjen etnocentričnom vizijom državljanstva gde namesto „bratstva-jedinstva" nosilac solidarnosti postaje solidarnost s našom „ko-etničkom braćom",[23] logično bi bilo očekivati drugačiji odnos prema izbeglicama koje devedesetih stižu u Srbiju, uglavnom sa željom da tu i ostanu.[24] Kada su izbeglice počele da pristižu 1990/1991. godine, lokalno stanovništvo je pomagalo koliko je moglo, ali što je više vremena prolazilo i život u Srbiji postajao sve teži usled ekonomskih sankcija i inflacije, animozitet je rastao, lokalno stanovništvo je na izbeglice počelo da gleda kao na pretnju i primarnost etničkog više nije bila bitna. S druge strane, građani Srbije koji nisu srpske nacionalnosti, dolaskom izbeglica u etnički mešovite sredine, posebno Vojvodinu, osetili su se ugroženim zbog demografskih promena i straha da će novopridošli Srbi imati jače izražen nacionalni identitet od lokalnih Srba i potencijalnu želju za osvetom i sukobima na etničkoj osnovi. Izbeglice, iako istog etničkog identiteta kao većina lokalnog stanovništva, nisu se osećale dobrodošlima u Srbiji, sebe su videli kao drugačiju socijalnu grupu, iznenađeni nedostatkom empatije za njihovu izbegličku situaciju kod lokalaca koji su ih krivili za sve loše što im se dogodilo.[25] Psihoanalizom zemlja-domaćina, dr Volkan objašnjava psihološke mehanizme pojedinaca i velikih grupa, razvoj predrasuda prema Drugom i kako u korenu svega leži strah: „Pojedinac nauči da nosi dva glavna sloja, poput odeće, od trenutka kad učvrsti

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21 Zbornik tekstova i dokumenata *Izbeglice: međunarodna zaštita, pravni položaj i životni problemi izbeglica, prognanika i raseljenih lica, Međunarodna politika*, Službeni glasnik, Pravni fakultet, Fakultet političkih nauka i Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, Beograd, 1998, 6–7.

22 B. Corrado, „Međunarodne migracije na Balkanu od kraja Hladnog rata: Opšti pregled", u: G. Penev (ur.) *Migracije, krize i ratni sukobi na Balkanu s kraja 20. veka*, Društvo demografa Srbije i DémoBalk, Beograd, 2011.

23 Javno predavanje dr Jelene Vasiljević *Solidarnost i politička zajednica od socijalističke Jugoslavije do danas* u organizaciji Centra za jugoslovenske studije i Doma omladine Beograd, održano 11. septembra 2019. godine u Domu omladine Beograd.

24 Prema podacima Komesarijata za izbeglice Republike Srbije, većina izbeglica se od samog početka izjašnjavala za integraciju kao svoje opredeljenje. I u vreme prvog popisa 1996. godine, i u vreme drugog popisa 2001. godine, preko 60% izbeglih se opredelilo za integraciju kao trajno rešenje. *Integracija kao dugoročno rešenje za izbegice i raseljena lica u Srbiji*, Srpski savet za izbeglice, Beograd, 2006.

25 M. Dragojević, "'We Don't Belong Anywhere': Everyday Life in a Serbian Town Where Immigrants Are Former Refugees", in: D. Montgomery (ed.) *Everyday Life in Balkans*, Indiana University Press, 2019.

pripadnost nekoj etničkoj grupi ili drugoj vrsti velike grupe u detinjstvu, ili od momenta kad pristupi nekom kultu, gerili ili terorističkoj grupi kao odrastao čovek. Prvi sloj, onaj individualni, odgovara svakom pojedincu, kao odeća. Reč je o suštini ličnog identiteta, koja obezbeđuje unutrašnji osećaj stalne istosti u nekome. Drugi sloj je poput platna velikog šatora, koji je labav, ali omogućava da veliki broj ljudi deli osećaj istosti s ostalima pod istim šatorom velike grupe. (...) Pod ogromnim šatorom velike grupe počivaju podgrupe i njihovi identiteti, kao što su, na primer, profesionalni i politički. (...) Oni koji su sposobni da očuvaju svoj lični identitet od uticaja stavova velike grupe, spremniji su da otvore vrata šatora i prihvate veliki broj pridošlica. Oni koji u doseljenicima vide nekoga ko pravi rupe i time oštećuje metaforičko šatorsko platno velike grupe – koje znači granicu njenog identiteta – postaju zabrinuti i u velikoj imigrantskoj populaciji vide najveću opasnost."[26]

Umetnički čin i čin otpora

Nasilje je postalo tako veliko da nije ni bilo moguće drugačije postaviti i shvatiti kulturu nego kao antiratni čin, kao deo nekog ljudskog prava.

Borka Pavićević[27]

U skladu sa savremenim svetskim trendovima u muzeologiji, pre više od deset godina Muzej Jugoslavije je skupio hrabrost da se suoči sa sopstvenim greškama i odgovorno krenuo u proces autorefleksije. S obzirom na to da je jedna od najobrađivanijih tema u novoj muzeologiji istorija muzeja, tj. njegova kritička interpretacija, dekonstrukcija – od temelja, preko organizacije i manifestacija do zbirki, s ciljem otkrivanja ideološke, političke, pa i ekonomske pozadine,[28] Muzej Jugoslavije je krenuo putem kritičkog muzeja 2009. godine. S idejom povezivanja u regionu, a u cilju postizanja multiperspektivnosti i višeglasja, preispitujući svoj identitet, ulogu u društvu i društveni značaj, smelo kritikujući sopstveni program, profil i identitet, Muzej je uvek težio mestu diskursa i kritičkog razmišljanja. Iz tog razloga je prihvaćen poziv kolega iz Moderne galerije u Ljubljani za učešće u dvogodišnjem zajedničkom projektu četiri umetničke i kulturne institucije iz

26 V. Volkan, *Imigranti i izbeglice: traume, dugotrajno žalovanje, predrasude i psihologija granice*, Clio, Beograd, 2018, 117–125.

27 *Umjetnici u egzilu*, Centar za mirovne studije, Zageb, 2013, 3.

28 P. Pjotrovski, *Kritički muzej*, Europa Nostra i Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, Beograd, 2013, 20–29.

Srbije, Slovenije, Austrije i Velike Britanije *Nova mapiranja Evrope.* Krovna tema projekta su migracije u Evropi, pri čemu se ne misli samo na skorašnje doseljenike u Evropu već i na migracione procese tokom 20. veka, a Muzej Jugoslavije se u svom umetničko-istraživačkom projektu fokusirao na migracije devedesetih godina u Srbiju i iz Srbije.[29] Ovom izložbom Muzej prvi put iz pasivne uloge domaćina,[30] posmatrača i čuvara nasleđa devedesetih uz sporadične momente sakupljanja i izlaganja[31] tog nasleđa, hrabro preuzima proaktivnu ulogu organizujući izložbu koja se bavi migracijama, izbeglištvom i progonima kao neizbežnim propratnim fenomenom svakog rata. Svesni činjenice da su devedesete traumatičan period koji još uvek nije istorizovan ni adekvatno obrađen osim fragmentarnim istraživanjima, a ograničeni resursima i vremenskim okvirom trajanja projekta, istraživanje je svedeno najvećim delom na Srbiju, mada se kroz različite migracione tokove i izbegličko pitanje u Srbiji prelama i izbeglička problematika cele Jugoslavije. Smatrajući da je način na koji se gradi sećanje na rat ključno, odlučili smo se da umesto logora, bitaka, ubistava i smrti prikažemo svojevrsnu antiratnu istoriju koja uvek ostane na margini velike ratne istorije kroz političku, angažovanu dimenziju umetnosti, politički, antiratni i umetnički aktivizam. Pozvali smo neinstitucionalizovane aktere sećanja koji su se kritički odnosili prema aktuelnom društvenom stanju da zajedno s nama, kolaborativno grade do sada nenapisani alternativni rečnik migracija u Srbiji. Nismo im samo dali glas već smo otišli i korak dalje i zajedničkim radom, kooperativno smo došli do pojmova koji čine svojevrstan rečnik ponuđen kao jedan mogući način čitanja slojevitog iskustva migracija u Srbiji. U kontekstu Srbije važno je bilo prepoznati upravo nevladine organizacije, udruženja građana, krugove intelektualaca i umetnike kao aktere sećanja koji su se devedesetih protivili ratovima preispitujući, osporavajući i suprotstavljajući se monopolizaciji sećanja i službene istoriografije koje su sprovodile vladajuće, institucionalizovane grupe, zalažući se za uključivanje „negativnih sećanja" i kritičku kulturu sećanja nasuprot selektivnom pamćenju.

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29 Izložba se realizuje u sklopu projekta *Nova mapiranja Evrope*, koji su podržali Evropska komisija kroz program Kreativna Evropa i Ministarstvo kulture i informisanja Republike Srbije. http://www.newmappingsofeurope.si/en

30 U Muzeju istorije Jugoslavije, 28. februara 2017. otvorena je izložba ratnih fotografija *Lekcije* iz '91. kustoskinje dr Sandre Vitaljić, koja je prvi put u ovom obimu okupila fotografe iz cele regije i nekoliko međunarodnih fotografa kako bi na jednom mestu prikazala ratne godine na tlu bivše Jugoslavije. Izložbu u Beogradu organizovao je Foto-savez Srbije u saradnji s Muzejem istorije Jugoslavije. Ona je deo većeg projekta organizacije Društvo za evropsko zavest iz Maribora, čiji su partneri Foto-klub Maribor, Međunarodni festival fotografije Organ vida i Foto-savez Srbije. Projekat podržava EU fond Evropa za građane. https://www.muzej-jugoslavije.org/exhibition/izlozba-lekcije-iz-91/

31 Povodom prve godišnjice NATO bombradovanja, 24. marta 2000. kustosi Muzeja su organizovali izložbu fotografija, oružja i predmeta izvučenih iz ruševina pod nazivom *Kako su ubijali jednu zemlju*.

Želja nam je da prikažemo umetničko i aktivističko nasleđe, antiratne kontranarative i pacifističku, umetničku i kulturnu kontrajavnost[32] devedesetih. Pored radova nastalih u vremenu kojim se izložba bavi, u izložbu smo uključile i radove i istraživanja nastala kasnije, a odnose se na temu migracija devedesetih s namerom da otvorimo bolne tačke društva i time doprinesemo refleksivnijem odnosu prema istorijskim mitovima, da se suočimo sa zločinima za koje su odgovorni pripadnici naše grupe jer se tako suprotstavljamo ideji o kolektivnoj krivici i približavamo pomirenju s drugom stranom.

32 Termin „kontrajavnost" koristi Milena Dragićević Šešić da prikaže veze između organizacija civilnog društva, umetnika i umetničkih kolektiva, nezavisnih medija i intelektualnih krugova koji su delovali izvan organizovanih platformi kao umetnička disidentska alternativna scena devedesetih. M. Dragićević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*, Institut za pozorište, film, radio i televiziju, Fakultet dramskih umetnosti i Clio, Beograd, 2018.

The Political Mythology of the Nineties

The Museum and the Nineties Memory Politics

For nearly two decades, the Museum of Yugoslavia has been offering an institutional framework for projects as well as for individual artists who express their active and/or critical attitude towards the society they live in. In the space of the Museum, one could see various perspectives and a range of themes artists dealt with in the course of the re-contextualization of the common past. Already in 2001, the Museum of Yugoslavia hosted the exhibition organized by the Center for Cultural Decontamination titled *Dossier Serbia. An Assessment of the Reality in the 1990s: The Closure*, presented for the first time in Vienna, a year earlier. In the same year, for BITEF (The Belgrade International Theatre Festival), the "May 25th" Museum building was chosen for its symbolic importance, both for this exhibition and the *The Warrior Brothel* play, also a Center for Cultural Decontamination production. Play director Ana Miljanić guided the audience through an empty museum of a discarded Yugoslav past, presenting the decomposition of a supranational Yugoslav identity, replaced by a national one, namely Serbian. The same space was used in 2004 for Nikola Rikanović's ambiental installations *The Butterfly Überman*, dedicated to the assassinated Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić. Parallel with the activation of the Museum's space, the curators of the Museum also collect different artifacts, primarily political posters and other pre-election material, even though they are not sure which collection to place them, however, aware of the fact that they are witnesses to important historical events and that invaluable museum material is at their fingertips. The exhibition *Yugoslavia, from the Beginning to the End* was an opportunity for the Museum to exhibit some of those objects for the first time, touching upon the yet insufficiently investigated and painful topic in our society and historiography – the wars of the 1990s, their consequences and the process of Yugoslavia's disintegration. Most of the objects

collected during the 1990s are currently on display in the *Museum Laboratory*, in the section that presents the new acquisitions from 1996 onwards alongside the selection of objects and citizens' personal memories of the nineties. The latter originate from the *Museum of Objects*, which also became part of the Museum of Yugoslavia's collections in 2017.[1]

Why is it important for the Museum of Yugoslavia to deal with the 1990s? For a long time there was an ongoing debate in the Museum about whether to close the era with 1991 when the SFRY disintegrated or to extend it to 2003 when the word Yugoslavia disappeared from the name of the state, that is, from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in which only two states remained – Serbia and Montenegro (this state union dispersed in 2006). We do not engage in the nineties because of the existence of a country that did not rest on the Yugoslav idea, but rather on the lucrative desire to achieve a continuity with the former federal state and thus to inherit many institutions, names, as well as memberships and status in international institutions. We deal with the nineties because they represent the prism through which most of the citizens in the region perceive the whole Yugoslav period. Inversely, the Museum focuses its research on the Yugoslav era to understand the bloody collapse of the Yugoslav federal state, the causes and origins of the first crisis, destabilizing elements, as well as outbursts of nationalism that were ignored and suppressed throughout Yugoslavia's existence.

Creating Collective Remembrance

The above mentioned events from the past were used as mobilization tool during the wars of the 1990s, specifically as proof that the conflicts between peoples in this region are eternal, inevitable and necessary,[2] and these transformations in interpreting events of the past started to appear towards the end of the 1980s, as ideological and psychological preparation for war. History suffered a huge transformation, supra-national communist ideas were substituted with a nationalistic discourse, the image of the other, neighboring nationalities became increasingly darker, a new history of the conflicts was written with the goal to change the positive image of former friends into an image of new enemies in a short time span, and to empower national identity and pride. "The newly made

1 The Museum Laboratory is the second phase of work on the permanent display. It was opened in May 2017 and its worked started with the presentation of the Museum collections created post-1996. The Museum of Objects was initiated by the "Bljana Kovačević Vučo" Fund and the Platform for Contemporary Art Kiosk. https://www.muzej-jugoslavije.org/exhibition/laboratorija-muzeja-jugoslavije/

2 H. Klasić, *Bijelo na crno. Lekcije iz prošlosti za budućnost*, Ljevak, Zagreb, 2019, 79.

history was supposed to prove that Serbs were always on the right side, that they had never waged conquering wars, that they were historic victors, and that they did no harm to their neighbors." Victimization became an important element of national identity, as did the production of remembrance about one's nation as being the historical victim.[3]

It was precisely this anti-communist discourse and elitist nationalism that was embodied through intellectuals turned nationalists, who were advocating for democratic changes combined with claims for an independent nation-state.[4] On the other hand, Maja Korać finds that the rise of nationalism among the general population, neighbors until recently, originates from the incomplete process of socialistic modernization, and elaborates further on the correlation between the urbanization and the uncompleted integration of the rural population into the urban milieu, concluding that this discrepancy led to the renewed revival of ethnic nationalism right after the state socialism was abolished, which further activated the beginning of the population's personal and collective identity crisis, kindling feelings of social and economic insecurity and the loss of a firm foothold.[5] In the essence of all these turbulences was a fear provoked by deep-rooted stereotypes. By evoking the massacres and commemorations of World War II victims, spirals of fear and violence were deliberately triggered so that national differentiation would outweigh neighborly closeness; old fears and doubts are awoken, and neighbors morph into evildoers. Everyday neighborly relations are peaceful, as long as the state is able to guarantee its stable character through its policies. As soon as it stops doing so, communities start to turn against eachother, a turn is made to (war) crimes and inter-ethnic violence, and security is sought among "ethnically yours," through the expulsion of Others, as a prerequisite for the beginning of war and ethnic cleansing.[6]

That nationalism is an important, if not even crucial factor in the disappearance of Yugoslavia, is something almost all dealing with the subjects agree upon. There are difference, however, regarding the importance it is afforded in the process of Yugoslavia's ending and in locating basic nationalistic opposition; whether the Serbo-Croatian axis of rivalry was decisive for the breakup of Yugoslavia or if it was Serbian-Slovenian contention that brought about the end

3 D. Stojanović, „U ogledalu 'drugih'", u: V. Dimitrijević (ur.), *Novosti iz prošlosti*, Beogradski centar za ljudska prava, Beograd 2010, 14.

4 J. Dragović-Soso, *'Spasioci nacije': Intelektualna opozicija Srbije i oživljavanje nacionalizma*, Fabrika knjiga, Beograd, 2004, 33.

5 M. Korać, *U potrazi za domom*, Zavod za udžbenike, 2012, 60–61.

6 K. Bugarel, Bosna. *Anatomija rata*, Fabrika knjiga, Beograd, 118–142.

of Yugoslavia.[7] Often, great importance is placed upon outside factors and the workings of great powers, which leftist interpretations have brought to their extreme by explaining the breakup of Yugoslavia as the result of globalization and pressures of international financial institutions to implement neoliberal reforms. According to them, Yugoslavia was supposed to be torn apart because it was a threat in terms of being a potential alternative model of social development after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the USSR, a socialist alternative to capitalist development. The role of Western powers in the disintegration process is indisputable, however, when insisting on the detrimental role of external and economic factors, local authorities are absolved, in a certain way, relieved of responsibility by blame being placed on someone else. According to Jovo Bakić, nationalism should be considered when interpreting the breakup of a multinational state. It was only when ethnically charged conflicts started that the desire appeared to match ethnic with political borders, thus inviting the space for the destructive operation of a foreign factor. Nationalism, as the most important inside factor of the disappearance of Yugoslavia was an unavoidable condition for the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation, to which the European Community and the USA contributed through their (in)action.[8]

The preceding myth of brotherhood and unity was supposed to be substituted with the new myth about a fatal historical conflict between South-Slavic peoples, by erasing remembrance of a socialist revolution and the People's Liberation Struggle (NOB) that was one of the strongest homogenizing social and integrative factors in socialist Yugoslavia for decades after World War II.

According to Claude Lévi-Strauss, myths are primarily informative of a society, a certain time they come into being and the way that society operates.[9] Each collective identity needs a common and unique interpretation of history and collective memory, because if there is no memory, there is neither identity nor nation.[10] Myth is an interpretation and usage of history, and its greatest purpose is to offer legitimacy to the authorities that instrumentalize that history and evoke it. Political mythology idealizes the past, historical events and personalities are viewed uncritically, they are romanticized, and placed in the service of

7 J. Bakić, *Jugoslavija – razaranje i njegovi tumači*, JP Službeni glasnik i Filozofski fakultet Beograd, Beograd, 2011, 319–342.

8 *Idem*, 532–540.

9 C. Lévi-Strauss, *Introduction to a Science of Mythology, Vol. 4*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1981, 639.

10 V. Gržinić, „Jugoslavensko trojstvo: rad, mladost i Republika. Obilježavanje socijalističkih praznika u Istri", u: I. Duda (ur.) *Radionica za suvremenu povijest. Istraživanja diplomanata pulskog Sveučilišta 2011–2013*, Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli i Srednja Europa, Pula–Zagreb, 2013, 72.

present ideologies and government structures of power.[11] The transformation of history to myth, according to Anthony Smith, is the key characteristic of national identity. The first and fundamental feature of national identity is historical territory, the cradle of the people which is "sacred" to them, belongs to them and vice versa.[12] The myth of territory is of utmost importance because of the emotional connection it creates among members of a society, making it stable and homogeneous. Nations are unimaginable without common myths about a territorial homeland and memory of it.[13] This is what makes the homeland unique, and its natural features gain historical significance for the people and become places of pilgrimage.

The government implants national loyalty through mass education systems,[14] and one of the most important tasks a state sets as its goal, is the establishment and systematic maintenance of an established myth through its ideological apparatus that encompasses different institutions, among others: the religious, school, family, legal, political, trade union, information, and cultural state ideological apparatus.[15] The successful production of historical myths depends on the effective dispersal of messages using different channels. Their triumph has a powerful mobilizing potential to form public, social and historical awareness, as an important factor that composes a society's value system.[16] The influence of propagandist messages and the consequences they were to have on citizens, remained to be seen in the future, however, the research about historical awareness in Serbia, conducted from March 19th to March 29th 2010, by the Belgrade Center for Human Rights, on a representative sample of 1086 citizens over 18 years of age indicative is. The results were devastating, showing that for the most of the citizens each participation of Serbia in a war was justifiable (70% of the citizens claimed that Serbia always waged only defensive wars), and half of the population was convinced that Serbia was on the winning side in all wars. There was no reconsideration of Serbia's role in the wars of the nineties, so that half of the population was of the opinion that the Croats are the most responsible for the wars, followed by the Slovenes, in the second place. The citizens of

11 V. Perica, M. Velikonja, *Nebeska Jugoslavija: interakcija političkih mitologija i pop-kulture*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2012, 20–21.

12 A. D. Smit, *Nacionalni identitet*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 1998, 23.

13 Despotović, Ljubiša, „Politički mitovi socijalizma od komunizma do boljševizma", u: *Mitovi epohe socijalizma*, Centar za istoriju, demokratiju i pomirenje i Fakultet za evropske pravno-političke studije, Novi Sad, 2010., 8.

14 A. Smit, *ibid.*, 31–71.

15 L. Althusser, *Ideologija i ideološki državni aparati*, Karpos, Beograd, 2009, 88–89.

16 A. Smit, *ibid.*, 31–71.

Serbia showed enormous ignorance on matters of committed crimes. Over 70% claimed not to know of the crime in Sjeverin when 16 Serb citizens of Bosniak nationality were killed; a third of the respondents did not know what happened in Srebrenica, 40% did not know who bombarded Dubrovnik, and just 13% knew that Sarajevo was under siege for over three years, while as many as 20% negated that Sarajevo was ever under siege. What is also disturbing is that the youngest respondents, those born between 1981 and 1992, showed the greatest prejudice and ignorance, proving the success of ingrained thought patterns in the minds of people who attended school in the nineties, in an atmosphere of intolerance. The respondents' strong ethnocentrism is fully in line with the highly ethnocentric memory politics in Serbia which, besides certain positive shifts in official and public memory politics, remains within the boundaries of the ethnocentric belief that the Serbian people are the greatest war victims in the region of the former Yugoslavia, and as far as responsibility is concerned, it is individualized and/or relativized by claiming that "crimes were committed by all warring sides."[17] The attitude towards the past is not cohesive, it is contextual and changes depending on the needs to suit our present-day identities in accordance with the so-called *supermarket syndrome* – when you enter the past as you do a supermarket, to take only what and as much as you need at that very moment.[18] In public discourse crimes committed in the name of the nation are still rejected, and a culture of denial has been in full swing for a long time now; crimes are individualized and trivialized, presented as excesses for which criminals, not state structures, are responsible, with the constant search for symmetry in suffering and (claiming) crimes on both sides, thus, diminishing responsibility. There is, also, a growing trend in mentioning the wars of the nineties in public discourse by asserting continuity with the World War II antifascist struggle built on the symbolism of the Serbian people's victimhood. Besides state officials making declarative statements and the official politics of reconciliation and dialogue, even almost after three decades, the citizens have not yet come to terms with uncomfortable facts, so that they may not be repeated in the future. Sensitivity to the injustices committed against Serbs as a nation and citizens of Serbia regardless their ethnicity, should not make us insensitive to the injustices suffered by our neighbors and former compatriots in the process of Yugoslavia's dissolution. A consensus

17 N. Govedarica, „Zemlja nesigurne prošlosti" u: T. Banjeglav, N. Govedarica, D. Karačić, *Revizija prošlosti. Politike sećanja u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji od 1990. godine*, ACIPS i Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Sarajevo, 2012, 208.

18 H. Klasić, *ibid.*, 80.

on who started the war and who suffered more, will probably never be met, or at least not in the near future, however, without diminishing Serbia's victimhood, we should learn to approach these crimes without nationalist bias. According to Milorad Pupovac: "During these almost ten war years, many Serbs committed crimes and caused the suffering of others. If they did it in a car accident, by driving in their cars, that would be their business first and foremost. Because they did it under the Serbian banner or for the Serb cause, in a war in which Serbs were on one side and the others on the other, we cannot escape a sense of responsibility for the crimes committed. I say, sense of responsibility, not sense of guilt, because the culprits are the perpetrators, and they should have a first and last name. (...) Without the ability and willingness to deal with crimes committed by someone in the Serbian name and under the Serbian name, we will make ourselves and our descendants the victims of that crime."[19]

"Refugees – Visitors from the War"[20]

(Self)victimization also lingers in the matter of refugees. It is treated as something that happened to Serbia like a natural disaster and something the country is not responsible for, but suffers as a consequences of the war in which it did not participate, thus playing the role of passive object in someone else's unjust actions. The passive role of victim and the structuring of a narrative with well known national myths and iconic presentations of the migrations of Serbs in school textbooks, are particularly well illustrated by Professor Ranko Petrović: "From the earliest times to the present, we in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have not been destined to view the problem of refugees, exiles and displaced persons from a serene distance, as upon the suffering of human solidarity with those who are killed and suffer. We were destined for it not to be only our human, but also our national problem. Our national history is full of scenes like those from the oil paintings depicting the migration of Serbs under Arsenije Čarnojević, to those who only recently spilled before our eyes, when rivers of refugees and displaced persons from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina sought rescue and refuge in FR Yugoslavia."[21]

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19 D. Markovina, *Povijest poraženih*, Naklada Jasenski i Turk, Zagreb, 2015, 110–111.

20 The title is borrowed from a replica in the graphic novel *Nemirno more* [*Rough Sea*] by Helena Klakočar, artist who worked as part of Migrative Art, presented at the exhibition *The Nineties: A Glossary of Migrations*. H. Klakočar, *Nemirno more 2*, Bratstvo i jedinstvo, Fabrika knjiga, Beograd, 2009, 32.

21 Proceedings of texts and documents *Izbeglice: međunarodna zaštita, pravni položaj i životni problemi izbeglica, prognanika i raseljenih lica, Međunarodna politika*, Službeni glasnik, Pravni fakultet, Fakultet političkih nauka i Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, Beograd, 1998, 6–7.

In absolute figures, Serbia and Montenegro had the greatest number of migrants in the region – 626,000 persons in 2000, of which three-thirds were refugees; also, these two countries had the largest number of emigrants living in OECD countries – over a million.[22] Why these people were not received with open arms by domicile inhabitants, is primarily a matter of psychology, but also of economy. How was the socialist citizenship regime substituted with an ethno-centric vision of citizenship in which instead of instead of "brotherhood-unity," solidarity was expressed exclusively with that of our "co-ethnic brothers". [23] It would be logical to expect a different attitude towards refugees who arrived to Serbia in the nineties, mainly with a wish to stay there.[24] When the refugees started to arrive in 1990/91, the local population helped as much as they could, however, as time passed and life in Serbia became more difficult due to economic sanctions and inflation, animosity grew, the local population started looking upon refugees as a threat and ethnic prioritization no longer mattered. On the other hand, citizens of Serbia who were not Serbian nationals, with the arrival of refugees in ethnically mixed areas, especially Vojvodina, started to feel vulnerable because of the demographic changes and fears that the newly arrived Serbs would have a more pronounced national identity than local Serbs and potentially a wish for revenge and conflicts on an ethnic basis. Refugees, although part of the same ethnic identity, as the majority population, did not feel welcome in Serbia; they percieved themselves as a different social group, and were surprised by the lack of empathy for their refugee situation among locals who blamed them for all the bad things that happened to them.[25] Through host-country psychoanalysis, Dr. Volkan explains the psychological mechanisms of individuals and big groups, the development of prejudice towards the *Other* and how fear lies at the root of it all: "An individual learns to wear two main layers, like clothing, from the moment he or she becomes affiliated with an ethnic group or another type of large group in childhood, or from the moment he or she approaches a cult, guerilla, or terrorist

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22 B. Corrado, „Međunarodne migracije na Balkanu od kraja Hladnog rata: Opšti pregled", u: G. Penev (ur.) *Migracije, krize i ratni sukobi na Balkanu s kraja 20. veka*, Društvo demografa Srbije i DémoBalk, Beograd, 2011.

23 Public lecture by Dr. Jelena Vasiljević: *Solidarity and the Political Community from Socialist Yugoslavia until today*, organized by the Center for Yugoslav Studies and Belgrade Youth Center (*Dom omladine Beograd*) on September 11, 2019, in Belgrade Youth Center.

24 According to the Commesariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, from the outset most refugees declared that they were for integration. Also, at the time of the first census in 1996, and at the time of the second census in 2001, over 60% of refugees chose integration as a permanent solution. In: *Integracija kao dugoročno rešenje za izbegice i raseljena lica u Srbiji*, Srpski savet za izbeglice, Beograd, 2006.

25 M. Dragojević, "'We Don't Belong Anywhere': Everyday Life in a Serbian Town Where Immigrants Are Former Refugees", in: D. Montgomery (ed.) *Everyday Life in Balkans*, Indiana University Press, 2019.

group as an adult. The first layer, the individual one, fits each human being, as a garment. It is the essence of personal identity, which provides an inner sense of constant sameness in a person. The second layer is like the canvas of a large tent, which is loose but allows a large number of people to share a sense of sameness with others under the same large group tent. (...) Under the huge tent of a large group rest subgroups and their identities, such as, for example, professional and political ones. (...) Those who are able to preserve their personal identity from the influence of the attitude of a large group are more willing to open the tent door and welcome a large number of newcomers. Those who perceive the newcomers as being capable of making holes and thereby damaging the metaphorical tent canvas of the large group – meaning, the limit of their identity – become concerned and see the greatest danger in the large immigrant population."[26]

The Creative Act and Act of Resistance

There was so much violence that it was not possible to set and understand culture otherwise than as an anti-war act, as part of some sort of human right.

Borka Pavićević[27]

In line with contemporary global trends in museology, more than a decade ago, the Museum of Yugoslavia summoned up the courage to face its own mistakes and move responsibly into the process of self-reflection. Seeing that museum history, that is, its critical interpretation, deconstruction – from its foundations, over its organization and events, to its collections, with the aim of discovering its ideological, political, even economic background[28] – is one of the most dealt with topics in new museology, the Museum of Yugoslavia set asail its critical museum journey in 2009. With an idea to connect with the region and with the aim to reach a multi-perspective and multi-vocal level, by reconsidering its identity, role in society and social importance, courageously criticizing its own program, profile and identity, the Museum always aimed at being a place of discourse and critical thinking. For this reason, the invitation from colleagues at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Ljubljana was accepted to take part in a two-year joint

26 V. Volkan, *Imigranti i izbeglice: traume, dugotrajno žalovanje, predrasude i psihologija granice*, Clio, Beograd, 2018, 117–125.

27 *Umjetnici u egzilu*, Centar za mirovne studije, Zageb, 2013, 3.

28 P. Pjotrovski, *Kritički muzej*, Europa Nostra i Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, Beograd, 2013, 20–29.

project – *New Mappings of Europe* – involving four art and culture institutions from Serbia, Slovenia, Austria and Great Britain. The roof theme of the project are migrations in Europe, implying not only the most recent immigrants to Europe but also migration processes during the 20th century, which focused the art-research project of the Museum of Yugoslavia on migrations to and from Serbia during the 1990s.[29] With this exhibition the Museum has, for the first time, from passive role of host,[30] observer and guardian of nineties heritage, with sporadically collecting and exhibiting[31] that heritage, boldly taken on the proactive role of organizing an exhibition that deals with migrations, refugeeism and persecutions as the inevitable side-effects of any war. Aware of the fact that the nineties are a traumatic period that have yet to be historicized and adequately dealt with, there being only fragmentary researches, and with certain limits being placed on resources and the timeframe of the project's duration, the research has been limited for the most part, to Serbia, although, the matter of refugees from the whole of (the former) Yugoslavia can be dealt with through different migration movements and the question of refugees in Serbia. Being of the opinion that the way in which remembrance of the war is to be built is crucial, we decided to display, instead of concentration camps, battles, killings and deaths, a kind of anti-war history that always remains on the margins of a great war history; also, we decided to do so through the political, engaged dimension of art, political, anti-war and art activism. We invited non-institutionalized remembrance participants who were critical towards the current social state of affairs, to join us in, collaboratively building a, to this point, unwritten alternative glossary of migrations in Serbia. We did not merely give them a voice, but we went a step further to jointly define the terms which form a glossary, of sorts, made available as one possible way to read the layered experience of migrations in Serbia. When

29 The exhibition is organized as part of the *New Mappings of Europe* project, supported by the European Commission through the Creative Europe program and the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia. See: http://www.newmappingsofeurope.si/en

30 The exhibition of war photographs *Lessons from '91*, curated by Sandra Vitaljić, opened at the Museum of Yugoslav History, on February 28, 2017. It was the first time that an exhibition of such a scope was organized, gathering photographers from the whole region and several international photographers in one place to present the war years on the the soil of the Former Yugoslavia. The exhibition was organized in Belgrade by the Photo-Association of Serbia in cooperation with the Museum of Yugoslav History. It is part of a larger project by The Society for European Consciousness from Maribor, whose partners are: Photo-Club Maribor, the International Festival of Photography „Organ vida" and the Photo-Association of Serbia. The project is supported by the EU fund Europe for Citizens. https://www.muzej-jugoslavije.org/exhibition/izlozba-lekcije-iz-91/

31 On the first anniversary of the NATO bombing on March 24, 2000, the curators of the Museum organized and exhibition of photographs, weapons and objects uncovered from the ruins, titled *How A Country was Killed*.

considering Serbia's context it was important to recognize non-governmental organizations, citizens' associations, intellectual circles and artists as protagonists of remembrance/memory, who objected the wars of the nineties, challenged and opposed the monopolization of remembrance/memory and the official historiography executed by ruling, institutionalized groups, and advocated for the incorporation of "negative memories" and a critical remembrance culture as opposed to selective memory.

It is, therefore, our wish to present the art and activist heritage, anti-war contra-narratives and the pacifist art and culture counterpublic[32] of the nineties. Besides the works created within the timeframe that the exhibition deals with (the nineties), we also included into the exhibition works and research that came later, which scrutinize the theme of migrations in the nineties, with the aim to open society's painful points and to, by doing so, contribute to a more reflexive attitude towards historical myths and confront the crimes that members of our group are responsible for, because, by doing so, we resist the idea of collective guilt and move closer to reconciliation with the other side.

32 The term *counterpublic* is used by Milena Dragićević Šešić to show the connections between civil society organizations, artists and art collectives, independent media and intellectual circles, who were active outside organized platforms as a dissident alternative art scene during the nineties. In: M. Dragićević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*, Institut za pozorište, film, radio i televiziju, Fakultet dramskih umetnosti i Clio, Beograd, 2018.

Jugoslavija i etnički inženjering

Decenija ratova na prostoru Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije ostavila je za sobom teške i trajne posledice. Uništena je infrastruktura građena decenijama, rasturene zajednice, skršene nade, poremećene vrednosti i način života. Zgrade oštećene gelerima se još nekako i popravljaju, ali se čini da su ta teška iskustva prošlosti i nedostatak vere u budućnost prosto utisnuti na lica cele jedne generacije. Ona je propatila tim više što je u slučaju Jugoslavije rat bio uperen protiv civila. Od 130.000 poginulih, manjina je stradala s puškom u ruci.[1] Mnogo je žena i dece među poginulima. Drugi veliki indikator predstavljaju migracije. Možda nikada nećemo saznati do u brojku, ali je između 3,5 i 4,4 miliona bilo prinuđeno da trajno napusti mesto boravka.[2] Dakle, bar svaki šesti, a možda i svaki peti stanovnik Jugoslavije je proteran.

Još dok se odvijala, za ovu tragediju su se tražila objašnjenja. Neka su pominjala surovost građanskih ratova, isticala narcizam malih razlika među jugoslovenskim narodima i nalazila njegovo prevladavanje kroz nasilje. Pričalo se čak i o primitivizmu balkanskih naroda i drevnim mržnjama na ovom prostoru. Najmanje se govorilo o prirodi ratnih ciljeva iako je očigledno da su ratna dinamika i stepen razaranja s njima u neposrednoj vezi. Možda je to i zato što se o ciljevima nije dovoljno znalo. Naime, svaka od strana je svoj istinski ratni cilj pokrivala proklamovanim: u samom početku, tokom 1990. godine Slovenija i Hrvatska su težile labavoj konfederaciji, a docnije i suverenosti, međunarodnom priznanju i preuređenju poretka, Srbija i Crna Gora su u tom periodu promovisale čvršću federaciju, a kada se ona izjalovila, težile su odbrani prava naroda koji žele da ostanu u Jugoslaviji. Jugoslovenska narodna armija je proklamovala da brani teritorijalni integritet SFRJ i njeno društveno uređenje. Savezna vlada je takođe težila očuvanju zemlje, ali

1 Mapa žrtava ratova devedesetih na području bivše Jugoslavije http://zrtveratovasfrj.info/site/list/sr-Latn-RS, posećeno 10. 10. 2019.

2 UNHCR, The State of The World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action, Geneva 2000, 218-9, 229. https://www.unhcr.org/publications/sowr/4a4c754a9/state-worlds-refugees-2000-fifty-years-humanitarian-action.html, posećeno 10. 10. 2019.

i temeljnoj promeni njenog uređenja. Makedonija i Bosna su predlagale rešenje za rešenjem koje bi pomirilo ove nepomirljive stavove, ali uzalud.[3]

Stavove je bilo teško pomiriti zbog toga što su ispod proklamovanih ležali oni istinski, stvarni ciljevi republičkih rukovodstava. O njima se nije govorilo, ali su za tok rata zapravo bili važniji od onih javnih. Hrvatska, recimo, nije težila samo međunarodnom priznanju. Njen predsednik Franjo Tuđman smatrao je da rat otvara šanse da se ona i preuredi. Kako? Pre svega, da se geografski proširi, to jest koriguju hrvatske granice na račun teritorije Bosne i Hercegovine, u kojoj su u značajnom broju živeli Hrvati. „Ako idemo u smislu osamostaljenja Hrvatske (...), te i takve granice Hrvatske, kakve su danas, one su apsurd, one su nemoguće. I prema tome, i sa našeg gledišta, ne manje negoli sa srpskog postoji problem da se, postoji potreba da se pitanje riješi u svojoj biti jer je uspostavljanje Bosne (...) povijesni apsurd", govorio je na sednici Vrhovnog državnog vijeća u junu 1991.[4] Takođe je sanjario o tome da se rat iskoristi da se značajno redukuje srpska manjina u Hrvatskoj. Govorilo se čak o pragu od 5% koji bi je zauvek onemogućio da igra ulogu „remetilačkog faktora". To ga nije ometalo da o podeli Bosne pregovara sa Slobodanom Miloševićem iako je on još zagovarao očuvanje Jugoslavije, a zatim branio pravo svih naroda koji žele u njoj da ostanu da to i urade.[5] Ovo je u suštini predstavljalo pravljenje nove, „skraćene" Jugoslavije, u kojoj bi sudbina nesrpskog stanovništva bila neizvesna. Milošević je svojim saradnicima još proleća 1991. godine nagovestio ratni rasplet jugoslovenske krize: „Granice, kao što znate, uvek diktiraju jaki, nikada ne diktiraju slabi. Prema tome, osnovno je da moramo biti jaki. (...) ako ne umemo dobro da radimo i privređujemo, bar ćemo znati dobro da se tučemo."[6] U te svrhe je nastojao da za svoje planove dobije saglasnost vojnog vrha, koji ga još uvek nije bespogovorno slušao: „Kad vojska jednom 'pokrije' srpske teritorije u Hrvatskoj, mi se više ne bojimo raspleta jugoslovenske krize. Bez toga ništa", poverio se Borisavu Joviću još januara 1991. godine.[7] A ta vojska tek nije znala gde udara. Poražena u Sloveniji, cepala se po nacionalnim šavovima i na kraju počela da igra baš tu rolu koju joj je Milošević namenio.[8]

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3 D. Jović, *Jugoslavija – država koja je odumrla*, Zagreb, Prometej 2003, 479–485.

4 K. Nikolić, V. Petrović (prir.), *Rat u Hrvatskoj. Dokumenta Predsedništva SFRJ III*, Institut za savremenu istoriju, Beograd 2019, 22.

5 D. Jović, *Rat i Mit*, Zagreb, Fraktura 2017.

6 K. Nikolić, Vladimir Petrović (prir.), *Od mira do rata. Dokumenta Predsedništva SFRJ I*, Institut za savremenu istoriju, Beograd 2010, 50

7 V. Petrović, „Raspad SFRJ: kriza, erozija, rat", u: *Istorija 20. veka*, 2015/1, 132

8 M. Hadžić, *Jugoslovenska narodna agonija*, Beograd, Dan Graf, 2004.

Dakle, i srpskoj i hrvatskoj strani cilj je bio isti – staviti što veću teritoriju pod fizičku kontrolu, a zatim na njoj obezbediti trajnu dominaciju etničkim preuređenjem tog prostora. U svrhe takvog etničkog inženjeringa sprovođene su aktivnosti odreda kriminalne – od prinuda i ucena, preko uništavanja imovine i logorisanja do silovanja, pojedinačnih i masovnih ubistava, koja su dosezala genocidne razmere. Čak je i sama reč „etničko čišćenje" poletela iz srpsko-hrvatskog tokom 1992. godine u engleski, a zatim i sve druge svetske jezike da označi sistematsko nasilje nad stanovništvom koje je označeno kao etnički nepoželjno.

Pogrešno se verovalo da je taj pojam nastao uporedo s raspadom Jugoslavije, a zaboravilo se da ideologija stvaranja „etnički čistog prostora" nije bila nova u Evropi, a posebno ne na Balkanu. Stvaranje novih država na graničnom pojasu između Otomanskog i Austrijskog carstva tokom devetnaestog veka bilo je u neraskidivoj vezi s pomeranjem stanovništva i njegovim nasilnim izmeštanjem, od Grčke, Crne Gore i Rumunije, do Srbije i Bugarske, čiju „etnografsku granicu" je još 1878. tražio Benjamin Kalaj, u nameri da odredi dokle dopire „pravi čisto srpski element" (nem. *eigentliche rein-serbische Element*). One teritorije na kojima je stanovništvo živelo izmešano, poput Makedonije, Vojvodine, Dobrudže, a ponajpre Bosne, ostajale su sporne. Tako su se još početkom dvadesetog veka o Bosnu grabili srpski i hrvatski etnolozi. Dok je Sima Trojanović tražio u njoj „čisto etničko jezgro" (1905), Ćiro Truhelka je tvrdio:„naša gruda je ne samo u etničkom vidu nego i u političkom bila čisto hrvatska" (1907). U međuratnom periodu su takve ideje, planovi i referati više puta vađeni iz fioke. Naime, da bi se takvo nasilje preduzelo, moralo je prethodno biti zamišljeno, osmišljeno, iskazano i opravdavano. Tokom i nakon Prvog svetskog rata ova sporadična upotreba probija se i u strane jezike (*rein ethnish genommen*, Ivo Pilar, 1918; *purely ethnic point of view*, Robert Siton-Votson, 1919). U međurantom periodu se termini „etnički" i „čisto" pomeraju s margina u sam centar intelektualne debate i političkog delanja. Terminologiju u međuratnom periodu razrađuju Dušan P. Popović („čisti srpski etnički krajevi", 1925, „sredina etnički čisto naša", 1937), i Nićifor Krajnik (*programul statului etnocratic*, 1937). Razrađuju se i planovi biopolitičkog preuređenja Rumunije (Juliju Moldovan) ili njene etničke integracije (Sabin Manuila), dok u Jugoslaviji nastaju projekti eugeničke izgradnje zajednice (Stevan Ivanić) ili etnopolitičkog preuređenja izgonom albanskog stanovništva (Vaso Čubrilović). Sporadični terminološki izleti prerastaju u izgrađen koncept krajem tridesetih godina, kada se nije toliko postavljalo pitanje da li treba „čistiti", već kako i koga.[9]

9 V. Petrović, *Etničko čišćenje: geneza koncepta*, Arhipelag/Institut za savremenu istoriju, Beograd, 2019, 208–9.

Praksa etničkog inženjeringa se potpuno razobručila tokom Drugog svetskog rata dovevši do istinskih istrebljivačkih pohoda. U takvom kontekstu se učvrstio i termin. Rumunski vicepremijer Mihaj Antonesku koristi napad Osovine na SSSR i prisajedinjenje Besarabije da najavi: „Etničko čišćenje (rum. *Purificarea etnică*) izvešće se uklanjanjem ili izolovanjem svih Jevreja i drugih nepouzdanih stranaca u radne kampove", dodajući na sastanku kabineta 8. jula 1941: „Ne znam da li će ikada Rumuni imati šansu da izvrše takvu nacionalnu reviziju i etničko čišćenje (*purificare etnică*)." Sabin Manuila nastoji da pretoči njegove ideje u konkretne projekte rumunizacije osvojenih teritorija. U leto 1941. nastaje i memorandum Stevana Moljevića *Homogena Srbija*, čiji se odjeci nalaze u *Instrukciji* Dragoljuba Mihailovića s kraja 1941, koja između ostalog kao cilj četničke borbe proglašava „stvaranje Velike Jugoslavije i u njoj Velike Srbije, etnički čiste". Takvi projekti se tada već uveliko realizuju u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj, u kojoj se Filip Lukas 1942. zalaže za „etnički najčišće očuvani deo hrvatskog naroda". Na samom kraju rata, termin koristi istoričar Vaso Čubrilović u memorandumu *Manjinski problem u novoj Jugoslaviji*, upućenom novim vlastima novembra 1944. godine, u kojem je upozoravao: „Demokratska Federativna Jugoslavija može imati mira i osiguran sigurni razvitak samo onda ako bude etnički čista. Namera je bila uklanjanje svih neslovenskih manjina iz Jugoslavije, a obrazloženje sledeće: „Može biti nikad neće nam se pružiti ovakva prilika da svoju državu napravimo etnički čisto našom". Do kraja Drugog svetskog rata pojam etničko čišćenje ne samo da je nesporno nastao već se i razvio u potpuni koncept koji je i primenjen u svojoj jezivoj praksi.[10]

Tim više zaprepašćuje što su jugoslavenski političari, kada je taj sistem osamdesetih godina počeo da gubi svoj legitimitet pod teretom ekonomske, društvene i političke krize, nakon smrti Tita i detanta koji je umanjio jugoslovensku ulogu u svetskoj areni, dozvolili sebi da posegnu za ciljevima i sredstvima za koje su morali da znaju da će dovesti do razaranja ogromnih razmera. Svaki popis u SFRJ pokazivao je da je to zemlja snažnih nacionalnih i kulturnih identiteta, istinska leopardova koža u kojoj ljudi žive izmešano. Ljuljati taj brod je bilo neodgovorno, a iscrtavati mu nove granice bilo je istinski kriminalno jer se ishod mogao pretpostaviti. Čak se ni u Sloveniji, čija se etnička slika prilično poklapala s republičkom teritorijom, ovo nije moglo izvesti bez rata, koji je odneo ne manje od 74 ljudskih života,[11] ni bez tihe represije – preko 26.000 ljudi izgubilo je pravo na boravak u ovoj novoj slovenačkoj državi, jednostavno su izbrisani.

10 V. Petrović, *Etničko čišćenje: geneza koncepta*, Arhipelag/Institut za savremenu istoriju, Beograd 2019, 210–2.

11 K. Nikolić, Vladimir Petrović (prir.), *Rat u Sloveniji. Dokumenta Predsedništva SFRJ II*, Institut za savremenu istoriju, Beograd 2012, 8.

Drugde je bilo još teže razdvojiti ljude koji su decenijama živeli zajedno. U Slavoniji je bila potrebna ogromna propaganda da bi se objasnilo da je suživot nemoguć, a iza nje je došla serija oružanih incidenata, poput Pakraca i Borovog Sela. Pretilo se ljudima koji nastoje da stanu između zaraćenih strana, neki čak padaju ubijeni od „svoje strane", poput Josipa Reihl Kira, osiječkog šefa policije.[12] Samo „etničko čišćenje" se odigravalo na različite načine. Uzmimo Ilok, grad na samoj granici sa Srbijom, u kojem je od 6797 stanovnika bilo tek 470 Srba. JNA je početkom oktobra odsekla ovaj gradić od ostatka Hrvatske, bombardovala okolna mesta, građani Iloka su ostali bez struje, a vojska je pretila da će ući u grad. Pod takvim pritiskom održan je referendum na kojem su Iločani masovno odlučili da napuste grad, što se i okončalo sredinom oktobra.[13] Verovatno je u prvi mah delovalo da je „etničko čišćenje" koje se čak sakrivalo pod terminima „humano preseljene" i sličnim, moguće delotvorno izvesti. Međutim, ispostavilo se da ta strategija ima jednostavno ograničenje: ako se određeni broj ljudi protera iz mesta A, a oni odu u mesto B ogorčeni i obespravljeni, mesto B odjednom postaje mnogo teže da se osvoji, kako je Jugoslovenska narodna armija ustanovila u Vukovaru, kojeg je morala da uništi da bi u njega ušla.[14] Istom logikom, nakon toga, svi hrvatski gradovi počev od Osijeka postali su neosvojive tvrđave.

Međutim, kada gruba sila pokaže svoju punu snagu, užas prevladava i „etničko čišćenje" istinski zadobija sopstvenu logiku u okviru ratova za nacionalne države.[15] Ljudi su proterani, ali i sami odlaze, nesigurni u ono što donosi sutra. Prvi takav veliki talas krenuo je iz Istočne i Zapadne Slavonije ka centralnoj Hrvatskoj, u koju se sjatilo više od 300.000 izbeglica, odnosno – tehničkim jezikom rečeno – interno raseljenih lica. Nije se dugo čekalo na osvetu – u jesen 1991. pada znatan deo Zapadne Slavonije, a odatle se barem 50.000 ljudi sklanja u Vojvodinu, dok u Srbiju iz drugih delova Hrvatske stiže još 30.000.[16] Ekstremni nacionalisti u Srbiji zahtevaju da se stoga iz nje isele vojvođanski Hrvati, a Vojislav Šešelj je na tome i radio u selu Hrtkovci. Ovo naselje je napustilo do početka 1992. godine 1200 ljudi, a i ime mu je promenjeno u Srbislavci.[17] Šešelj je nastojao da ovakvu

12 Tko je tebi Reihl Kir? HRT, 2017 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xRkbvu_bM-g

13 K. Nikolić, *Jugoslavija, poslednji dani 1989–1992. Knjiga druga: Razaranje države, stvaranje država*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2020 (u rukopisu).

14 *Vukovarska tragedija 1991*, Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava, Beograd 2007.

15 V. Pešić, „Rat za nacionalne države", u: Nebojša Popov (ur.), *Srpska strana rata (Serbian side of the war)*, Vol. I, B 92: Beograd, Zrenjanin, 1996, 60–86.

16 M. J. Calic, „Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes", u: Charles Ingrao, Thomas Emmeret, *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies*, US Institute of Peace, Washington D.C., 2009, 121–2.

17 *Dosije: Zločini nad Hrvatima u Vojvodini*, Fond za humanitarno pravo, Beoigrad 2019, 23–8.

dinamiku promoviše kao svojevrsnu „retorziju": mi teramo vaše jer vaši teraju naše. Naravno da ni „naše" ni „vaše" o tome niko nije pitao, to je bila igra koja je odgovarala i srpskoj i hrvatskoj nacionalnoj eliti. Ljudi su kretali na put, ili slali žene i decu kod rođaka na sigurno, a u svakom slučaju spremali ćebad, potrepštine i smišljali puteve kojima bi išli, svesni da im je glava u torbi. Prevladala je jednostavna igra s prostorom i ljudima, koju je dobro opisao Vladimir Gligorov: Zašto da mi budemo manjina u vašoj državi, kada vi možete da budete manjina u našoj?[18] Nova terminologija – izbeglice, raseljena lica, Crveni krst, izbeglički kamp, Komesarijat za izbeglice, humanitarna pomoć – postala je deo svakodnevnog vokabulara za čitavu jednu deceniju.

Iako je već do kraja 1991. godine prema Međunarodnom komesarijatu za izbeglice ovo krvavo kolo zahvatilo preko 500.000 ljudi, najgore je tek predstojalo.[19] Ova tragedija je poprimila istinski strahovite razmere kada se konflikt preselio u Bosnu i Hercegovinu, gde je usled strukture stanovništva (Muslimani 43,47 %, Srbi 31,21 %, Hrvati 17,38 %, Jugosloveni 5,54 %....) i njegovog izmešanog rasporeda na čuvenoj bosanskoj „leopardovoj koži" trebalo uložiti još više rušilačke snage da se izazove nacionalno pregrupisanje. U te svrhe, srpska strana je u Bosni formulisala plan, tajno usvojen na skupštinskoj sednici maja 1992, a objavljen u „Službenom glasniku Republike Srpske" tek 26. novembra 1993, koji je predviđao državno razdvajanje od druge dve nacionalne zajednice u Bosni, stvaranje koridora između Semberije i Krajine, eliminisanje Drine kao granice između srpskih teritorija, uspostavljanje granice na Uni i Neretvi, podelu Sarajeva na srpski i muslimanski deo i izlazak Republike Srpske na more.[20] Slično je postupala i hrvatska marionetska država Herceg-Bosna, držeći se iste logike nasilnog razdvajanja koje bi dovelo do ostvarenja Tuđmanove namere po „podebljavanju kifle", odnosno korekciji hrvatskih granica.[21] I ostatak BiH podlegao je etnonacionalističkom pritisku[22] iako se rukovodstvo u Sarajevu deklarativno zalagalo za očuvanje celovite, multietničke Bosne.

18 Vladimir Gligorov, Zašto se zemlje raspadaju: *Slučaj Jugoslavija*, Peščanik, Beograd, 2014, 111.

19 UNHCR, The State of The World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action, 218. https://www.unhcr.org/publications/sowr/4a4c754a9/state-worlds-refugees-2000-fifty-years-humanitarian-action.html

20 V. Petrović, *Srpske političke elite i Vens–Ovenov plan II*. Stenografske beleške sa zasedanja Narodna skupštine Republike Srpske, Beograd, 2011, 78.

21 Upravo je na suđenju ovom rukovodstvu u Hagu o tome govorio Josip Manolić, bivši hrvatski premijer. SENSE Tribunal, „Tuđmanova naklapanja i želje", 3.7.2006. http://www.sense-agency.com/tribunal_(mksj)/tudjmanova-naklapanja-i-zelje.25.html?cat_id=1&news_id=3735

22 E. Omerčić, „Bosna i Hercegovina u političkoj projekciji intelektualnih krugova (1992–1995)", *Historijska traganja*, 13, 2014, 34–36.

Jednom kada su se ovakvi ciljevi ustalili, njihovo ostvarivanje je izazvalo brutalnosti ogromnih razmera. Troipogodišnji rat je odneo preko 100.000 života, a da je ovo nasilje bilo inspirisano etničkim inženjeringom najbolje svedoči ogromno pomeranje stanovništva. Do kraja rata zabeleženo je 2,2 miliona izbeglica i raseljenih lica, od kojih su polovina bili Bošnjaci, praktično svaki drugi. Samo za jedan dan je iz Srebrenice proterano više od 20.000 bošnjačkih žena i dece. Od preko 15.000 muškaraca koji su krenuli ka Tuzli, manje od polovine je stiglo tamo. Ostali su pobijeni. U završnici rata je tokom operacije „Oluja" iz Hrvatske za nekoliko dana proterano preko 200.000 Srba, koje je Miloševićev režim delom nastojao da preusmeri na Kosovo. Ove tendencije su se nastavile i nakon zaključenja mira – Sarajevo je tada napustilo preko 100.000 Srba, popunjavajući etničke praznine u Istočnoj Bosni. Da se nikakve lekcije nisu naučile pokazala je eskalacija krize na Kosovu tokom 1998, koju je pratio porast broja interno raseljenih Albanaca, da bi na proleće 1999. godine po početku bombardovanja Savezne Republike Jugoslavije nastao egzodus od preko 800.000 Albanaca koji su izbačeni s Kosova. Oni su se u leto iste godine mahom vratili, ali ga je napustilo ne manje od 100.000 Srba posle povlačenja vojske nakon završetka bombardovanja u leto iste godine. Sve u svemu, procena je visokog predstavnika Ujedinjenih nacija za izbeglice da je na prostoru Jugoslavije rat doneo ogromnu humanitarnu krizu, stvarajući oko 2,4 miliona izbeglica i još dva miliona interno raseljenih lica.[23] Široka je lepeza nasilnih sredstava koja se koristila u ovu svrhu, od ubeđivanja, pretnje i prinude, preko uništavanja imovine, logorisanja i proterivanja, do silovanja, pojedinačnih i masovnih ubistava. Posledice se mogu videti na etničkoj strukturi Jugoslavije neposredno pred rat i izgleda postjugoslovenskog prostora deceniju kasnije.[24]

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23 Iako su najveći deo ovih procena osporavale strane u sukobu, razmere zločina i broj žrtava analizirao je niz naučnika, demografa, sudskih institucija, nevladinih i međunarodnih organizacija. Up. M. J. Calic, „Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes", u: C. Ingrao, Thomas Emmeret, *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies,* US Institute of Peace, Washington D.C., 2009, 115–151; B. Hovy, „Koliko ih je napustilo zemlju? Raseljavanje građana bivše Jugoslavije", u: G. Penev, *Migracije, krize i ratni sukobi na Balkanu s kraja 20. veka*, Društvo demografa Srbije i DemoBalk, 27–47, 2011, EVA, UNHCR, *The State of The World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action*, Geneva 2000. (UNHCR, 2000: 224–225), E. Tabeau, *Rat u brojkama demografski gubici u ratovimana teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije od 1991. do 1999. Glavni izveštaji demografskih veštaka predstavljeni od strane tužilaštva na suđenjima u Međunarodnom krivičnom sudu za bivšu Jugoslaviju*, Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava, Beograd 2009; Mapa žrtava ratova devedesetih na području bivše Jugoslavije, http://zrtveratovasfrj.info/site/list/sr-Latn-RS;

UNHCR, *The State of The World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action*, Geneva 2000, 218–242. https://www.unhcr.org/publications/sowr/4a4c754a9/state-worlds-refugees-2000-fifty-years-humanitarian-action.html

24 Za više informacija uporediti mapu razmeštaja naroda i narodnosti SFRJ po rezultatima popisa iz 1981. godine http://www.arhivyu.gov.rs/active/sr-latin/home/glavna_navigacija/izlozbe/izlozbe_arhiva/izl_2009_stalna.html i mapu etničke strukture stanovništa na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije 2013. godine https://i.redd.it/vozotjy3rag31.jpg

Kako je svaki šesti stanovnik Jugoslavije prinudno promenio mesto svog boravka, da li je postao izbeglica ili privremeno raseljeno lice zavisilo je od toga da li je utočište potražio u okviru ili van granica zemlje. Između 600.000 i 800.000 azilanata iz Jugoslavije apsorbovale su članice Evropske unije, od čega je destinacija za polovinu bila Nemačka.[25] Mnogi naši ljudi u inostranstvu na pitanje „otkada ste ovde" daju turoban odgovor koji toliko toga govori: „Moji su došli 1992".

Većina izbeglica se pak trajno nastanila u republikama bivše Jugoslavije koje je doživljavala kao svoje. Neki su se smestili kod rođaka i po privremenim smeštajima, koji su se u praksi pokazali kao trajni za čitav niz godina. Iako se broj raseljenih nakon rata smanjivao, 2005. ih je ostalo čitavih 600.000, a 2012. još uvek je bilo registrovano preko 330.000 izbeglica i raseljenih lica.[26] I dan-danas 30.000 izbeglica iz jugoslovenskih ratova nije zbrinuto u Srbiji, dok u Bosni i Hercegovini još uvek postoji oko stotinu kolektivnih centara za smeštaj izbeglica.[27] Međutim, to ne znači da se ostalih četiri miliona vratilo svojim kućama. Neki jesu, neki su se preselili, bilo u okviru postjugoslovenskog prostora, ili van njega.

Kako je etnocentrizam ostao trajna karakteristika ovog prostora, dosta je pisano o prognanim Srbima, Hrvatima, Bošnjacima i Albancima, dok su neke manje vidljive karakteristike ovog rata ostale jedva zabeležene. Uzmimo za primer mentalno izbeglištvo. Po popisu iz 1981. godine, u Jugoslaviji je živelo skoro 1.300.000 Jugoslovena. Njihov se broj naredne decenije gotovo prepolovio. Očigledno je pod teretom krize već delovala logika etnonacionalizma, pa se na popisu 1991. kao Jugosloveni izjasnilo tek 710.000 ljudi. Nakon rata, njihov broj dramatično opada. Dok su u drugim jugoslovenskim republikama ostali prisutni samo u tragovima, u Srbiji ih je 2001. bilo nešto preko 80.000, a deset godina kasnije jedva 23.000. Dakle, od 1981. do danas nestalo je 1.270.000 Jugoslovena.[28]

Gde su nestali ljudi? Nije verovatno da su oni svi isterani iz zemlje. Oni su zapravo izbačeni iz svog identiteta. Prinuđeni su, ili su osetili potrebu da se izjasne u skladu s preovlađujućim nacionalnim osećanjima njihove sredine. O ovoj dimenziji mentalnog izbeglištva se malo pričalo i pisalo, osim kada je reč o „mešovitim brakovima", još jednom ružnom terminu koji su porodila ta surova vremena.

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25 B. Hovy, „Koliko ih je napustilo zemlju? Raseljavanje građana bivše Jugoslavije", u: G. Penev, *Migracije, krize i ratni sukobi na Balkanu s kraja 20. veka*, Društvo demografa Srbije i DemoBalk, 2011, 35

26 *Isto*, 37.

27 N1: U BiH još uvijek postoji preko stotinu kolektivnih centara, 19. 6. 2019. http://ba.n1info.com/Vijesti/a267506/U-BiH-jos-uvijek-postoji-preko-stotinu-kolektivnih-centara.html

28 N. Isailović, *Ko su (bili) Jugosloveni?*, Peščanik, 29. 9. 2011, https://pescanik.net/ko-su-bili-jugosloveni/

Sve u svemu, na teritorijama naslednicama Jugoslavije danas živi gotovo dva miliona ljudi manje nego 1991. godine.[29] To je delom posledica ratnog izbeglištva, delom negativnog prirodnog priraštaja, a delom posleratnog beznađa, koje je sa sobom povuklo pokrete „trbuhom za kruhom", i odlazak čitave generacije, najčešće mladih i školovanih. Jugoslovensko iskustvo tako pokazuje kako je porozna granica između ratnog izbeglištva i ekonomske migracije, ali i da je u korenu obe ljudskom rukom naneta nesreća. Najpotresnije je zapravo to što se doskora mislilo da je jugoslovenska tragedija atavistički sukob i poslednje poglavlje brutalnog dvadesetog veka. Danas više deluje da je ona najavila globalnu krizu našeg doba, u kojem, po proceni Visokog komesarijata za izbeglice Ujedinjenih nacija, ne manje od sedamdeset miliona ljudi luta planetom u potrazi za utočištem.[30]

29 Večernji list, „Veliki gubici: Na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije živi 1,8 milijuna stanovnika manje nego 1991.", 9. 12. 2015, https://www.vecernji.ba/vijesti/na-prostoru-bivse-jugoslavije-zivi-oko-18-milijuna-stanovnika-manje-nego-1991-1043146

30 UNHCR 2019 Figures at Glance https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html

Yugoslavia and Ethnic Engineering

Decades of war on the territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) left grave and lasting consequences. An infrastructure that took decades to build was destroyed, communities dissolved, hopes shattered, values disrupted. Buildings damaged by shrapnel are to a certain extent being fixed, however, it seems that the burden of the past and a lack of faith in the future have simply left a lasting mark on the faces of a whole generation. This is understandable, as in the case of Yugoslavia, the war was waged against civilians. Out of 130,000 killed, a minority died with a weapon in hand.[1] There were many women and children among fatalities. Another such indicator is migration. We may never know the exact number, however, between 3.5 and 4.4 million people were forced to leave permanently their place of dwelling.[2] This means that at least every sixth, maybe even fifth Yugoslav was forced into exile.

Reasons for this tragedy were sought even while it was unfolding. The savagery of the civil wars was evoked; emphasis was placed on the narcissism of small difference among Yugoslav peoples and the need to overcome it with violence. We were perpetually listening about the primitivism of Balkan peoples and ancient hatred in these regions. The actual war goals were rarely mentioned, even though it is obvious that the war dynamics and degree of destruction were closely linked to it. Maybe this was because they were not known at the time. Namely, each side camouflaged its war goals with the one it proclaimed: at the very beginning, in the 1990s, Slovenia and Croatia aspired towards a loose confederation, later even sovereignty, international recognition and the rearrangement of the order. At the time, Serbia and Montenegro promoted a more consolidated federation, and when it did not bear fruit, they started moving towards defending the rights

1 A map of the victims of war in the nineties in the region of the former Yugoslavia. http://zrtveratovasfrj.info/site/list/sr-Latn-RS

2 UNHCR, 2000. *The State of The World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action* (Geneva: 2000) 218–9, 229, https://www.unhcr.org/publications/sowr/4a4c754a9/state-worlds-refugees-2000-fifty-years-humanitarian-action.html

of the people who wished to remain in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) proclaimed that it was defending the territorial integrity of the SFRY and its social order. The federal government also gravitated towards preserving the land but was engaged in fundamentally changing its order. Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina worked towards a solution that would reconcile these irreconcilable views; however, to no avail.[3]

It was even more difficult to resolve these differences as the true aims of the republics' leaderships were hidden beneath the publicly proclaimed ones. Croatia, for instance, did not merely want international recognition. Its president Franjo Tuđman thought that the war opened the possibilities for the reengineering of the state. *How?* First of all, this involved physical expansion, that is, correction of the Croatian borders at the expense of those parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina that were largely populated by Croats: "If we are to opt for Croatia's independence (…) the borders of Croatia that we have today are absurd, they are impossible. Therefore, from our point of view, just like the Serbs point, there is a problem, a need to solve the issue at its core because the establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina (…) is a historical absurdity," – thus he spoke at the meeting of the Supreme State Council in June 1991.[4] Also, he daydreamed of instrumentalizing the war to significantly reduce the Serbian minority in Croatia; it seemed to him that the 5% Serb threshold would once and for all hinder their role of "factor of disturbance." This, however, did not prevent him from negotiating the division of Bosnia with Slobodan Milošević, even though the latter still advocated the preservation of Yugoslavia and claimed to defend the rights of all peoples who wished to remain in it.[5] Essentially this meant the creation of a new, "abridged" Yugoslavia, which would make the fate of the non-Serbian populations uncertain. In the spring of 1991, Milošević offered his associates an early indication about the unraveling of the Yugoslav crisis: "Borders, as you know, are always dictated by the strong, and never by the weak. Therefore, it is fundamental that we must be strong. (…) If we don't know how to work well and create an economy, we at least know how to fight well."[6] To this end and to suit his plans, Milošević sought to gain the approval of the military leadership, which had not yet submitted to his authority unconditionally: "Once the army 'covers' the Serbian territories in Croatia, we no longer [need to] fear the unraveling of the Yugoslav crisis.

3 Dejan Jović, *Jugoslavija – država koja je odumrla* (Zagreb: Prometej, 2003), pp. 479–485.

4 Kosta Nikolić & Vladimir Petrović, eds., *Rat u Hrvatskoj. Dokumenta Predsedništva SFRJ III* (Beograd: 2019), 22.

5 Dejan Jović, *Rat i mit* (Zagreb: 2017).

6 Kosta Nikolić & Vladimir Petrović, eds., *Od mira do rata. Dokumenta Predsedništva SFRJ I* (Beograd: 2010), 50.

Without this, there is nothing" – he confided in Borisav Jović in January 1991.[7] And, that army had no idea where it was hitting. Defeated in Slovenia in July, it was splitting along the national lines and eventually it gave into the role that Milošević had anticipated.[8]

So, the goal was the same for the Serbian and Croatian side – to take control over as large a territory as possible, and then to ensure lasting domination through the ethnic remodeling of the area. For the purposes of such ethnic engineering, criminal activities were installed – from force and blackmail, over destruction of property and detention, to rape, individual and mass murders that reached the scope of genocide. Even the very term "ethnic cleansing" was resurrected in Yugoslavia during the 1980s and then introduced into the English from the Serbo-Croatian language in 1992, penetrating quickly all other world languages, to mark the systematic violence over the population, which was designated ethnically undesirable.

It was wrongly believed that the term originated from the breakup of Yugoslavia, and it was forgotten that the ideology of creating an "ethnically clean area" was not new in Europe, and especially not in the Balkans. The creation of new states on the borders of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires in the nineteenth century was inseparable from the migrations of the population and its violent displacement, from Greece, Montenegro and Romania, to Serbia and Bulgaria. The semantic war begun. A stable "ethnographic border" was sought as early as 1878 by Benjamin von Kállay in an attempt to determine the point to which the "real purely Serbian element" (Ger. *eigentlicherein-serbische Element*) extends. The territories where populations were mixed, such as Macedonia, Vojvodina, Dobruja, and foremost Bosnia, remained contentious. Consequently, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Serbian and Croatian ethnologists started arguing over Bosnia. Whilst Sima Trojanović searched for a "purely ethnic nucleus" (1905), Ćiro Truhelka claimed that "our homeland is not merely in an ethnic sense, but also in a political one, purely Croatian" (1907). During and after World War I this sporadic usage of the term surged into foreign languages (*rein ethnish genommen*, Ivo Pilar, 1918; *purely ethnic point of view*, Robert William Seton-Watson, 1919). In the early interwar period, the terms "ethnic" and "pure" started to shift from the margins to the very center of intellectual debate and political action. Namely, in order to enact such violence, it first had

7 Vladimir Petrović, "Raspad SFRJ: kriza, erozija, pat," in: *Istorija 20. veka*, 2015/1, 132.

8 Miroslav Hadžić, *Jugoslovenska narodna agonija* (Beograd: Dan Graf), 2004.

to be imagined, thought-out, expressed and justified. The terminology of the late interwar period was preoccupied with "purely Serbian ethnic areas," and "our environment, ethnically pure," (Dušan P. Popović, 1925, 1937) as well as fantasies of ethnocratic statehood (Nichifor Crainic, 1937). As war was getting closer, entire elaborate plans appeared, calling for a bio-political reordering or Romania (Iuliu Moldovan) or its ethnic integration (Sabin Manuila), while in Yugoslavia eugenic projects for repairing society (Stevan Ivanić) were competing with the plans for ethno-political reordering of the state through the expulsion of the Albanian population (Vaso Čubrilović, 1937). Intermittent terminological excurses morphed into a concrete concept by the end of the 1930s, when it was no longer a matter of whether there should be "cleansing", but rather, who should be cleansed, how and when.[9]

The practice of ethnic engineering was in full swing during World War II, leading to true extermination campaigns, towered by the Holocaust. The term was also rooted in this context. The Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Mihai Antonescu used the Axis' attack on the USSR and the annexation of Bessarabia to announce: "Ethnic cleansing (Rom. *Purificarea etnică*) will be implemented by removing or isolating all Jews and other unreliable foreigners to work camps," adding at the meeting of the Cabinet on July 8th, 1941: "I do not know whether Romanians will ever get the chance to execute such national revision and ethnic cleansing (*purificarea etnică*)." Sabin Manuila conveyed his ideas into concrete projects of the Romanianization of the conquered territories. In the summer of 1941 the memorandum of Stevan Moljević, entitled *Homogenous Serbia,* was crafted and its echoes can be found in Dragoljub Mihailović's *Instruction* (late 1941), which among other things proclaimed as one of the Chetnik goals the creation of a "Greater Yugoslavia and within it Greater Serbia, ethnically pure." The realization of similar projects was already underway in the Independent State of Croatia, where in 1942 Filip Lukas was already advocating for the preservation of the "ethnically cleanest part of the Croatian people." At the very end of this horrible war, the term was used by historian Vasa Čubrilović in his memorandum, *The Minority Problem in New Yugoslavia,* sent to the new Communist authorities in November 1944, where he warned: "A democratic Federal Yugoslavia can have peace and secure development only if it is ethnically clean." His intention was to remove all non-Slavic minorities from Yugoslavia, with the following rationale: "There is a possibility that we may never be offered such an opportunity to make

9 Vladimir Petrović, *Etničko čišćenje: geneza koncepta,* (Beograd: Arhipelag/Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2019), 208–9.

our own state ethnically purely ours." By the end of World War II, the expression ethnic cleansing was not only irrefutably coined, but it also evolved into a complete concept that was horrifically applied.[10]

Against such an explosive background, it is all the more astonishing that Yugoslav politicians, challenged by the systemic loss of legitimacy after the death of Tito, followed by Yugoslavia's diminished role in the world arena, allowed themselves to reach for the goals and the means, whose destructive potential was obvious. Each census in the SFRY showed that it was a country of strong national and cultural identities, the true "leopard skin" in which mixed people cohabitate. To rock such a boat during the economic, social and political crisis of the 1980s, was irresponsible, and drawing new borders was truly criminal, as the outcome showed. Even in Slovenia – its ethnic composition being almost correlative with the republic's territory – this could not have been done without a war that took no less than 74 lives.[11] Nor could it have passed without silent repression – over 26,000 people lost their right to remain in this new Slovenian state; they were simply erased.

Even greater effort was placed elsewhere to separate people who had spent decades living together. In Slavonia for example, huge propaganda was needed to explain why such coexistence was impossible. It was followed by a series of armed incidents, such as the one in Pakrac and Borovo Selo. People trying to get between the warring sides were threatened; some were even shot by "their own side," as in the case of Josip Reihl Kir, an Osijek chief of police.[12] "Ethnic cleansing" itself played out in different ways. Consider Ilok, a town on the very border between Croatia and Serbia, where among 6,797 inhabitants, there were merely 470 Serbs. The JNA cut off this town from the rest of Croatia at the beginning of October of 1991, bombed its surrounding area leaving the townspeople without electricity, while the army threatened to enter the town. Under such pressure, a "referendum" was held whereby the townspeople decided to leave the town *en masse*, which ended in mid-October.[13] Hence, at first it might have seemed to "ethnic cleansers" that their actions, disguised under the term

10 Vladimir Petrović, *Etničko čišćenje: geneza koncepta,* (Beograd: Arhipelag/Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2019), 210–2.

11 Kosta Nikolić & Vladimir Petrović, eds., *Rat u Sloveniji. Dokumenta Predsedništva SFRJ II,* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2012), 8.

12 HRT, "Tko je tebi Reihl Kir?" YouTube video, 14:43, Jun 29, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xRkbvu_bM-g

13 Kosta Nikolić, *Jugoslavija, poslednji dani 1989-1992. Knjiga druga: Razaranje države, stvaranje država*, (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2020). (Unpublished manuscript).

"humanitarian displacement", "temporary resettlement" and the like, could be effectively carried out. However, as it turned out, this strategy had a very simple limitation: if a certain number of people are expelled from place A and they go to place B, banished and angry, place B suddenly becomes much harder to conquer, as the JNA found to be the case in Vukovar – the town it had to destroy in order to enter.[14] Under the same logic, until the end of the year, all cities in Slavonia, starting from Osijek, became invincible Croatian fortresses.

However, when brute force shows its full strength, horror prevails and "ethnic cleansing" assumes its own logic in the wars for nation states.[15] People are banished, but they also leave on their own, in the face of a very uncertain future. The first time such a big wave was generated was from eastern and western Slavonia towards central Croatia, bringing more than 300,000 refugees, that is, put in technical language, internally displaced persons. Revenge was swift in coming – in the autumn of 1991 a large part of western Slavonia fell, at least 50,000 people moved to Vojvodina, with another 30,000 people reaching Serbia from other parts of Croatia.[16] Extreme nationalists in Serbia demanded that the Vojvodina Croats be expelled in return, and Vojislav Šešelj worked specifically to that end in the village of Hrtkovci. By the beginning of 1992, 1,200 people left this place, and its name was changed to Srbislavci[17].[18] Šešelj sought to promote such dynamics as a kind of "retorsion:" we force yours out because you did the same to ours. Of course, nobody asked the "ours" or "yours"; it was a game that suited both the Serbian and Croatian national elite. People were on the move, fleeing or arming themselves, sending women, children and the elderly to relatives for safety; they started storing blankets and food supplies, and devising routes to take, if need be, aware that their "heads were in their bags." The logic of this sudden reordering of space and population was well described by Vladimir Gligorov: *Why should we be a minority in your country, when you can be a minority in ours?*[19] A new terminology: refugees, displaced persons, Red Cross, refugee camp, Commissariat for Refugees, humanitarian aid, became part of everyday vocabulary for a whole decade.

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14 *Vukovarska tragedija 1991,* (Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava, 2007).

15 Vesna Pešić, "Rat za nacionalne države," in: Nebojša Popov, ed., *Srpska strana rata (Serbian side of the war)*, Vol. I, (Beograd, Zrenjanin, 1996), 60–86.

16 Marie Janine Calic, "Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes," in: *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies*, eds. Charles Ingrao & Thomas Emmeret, (Washington D.C.: US Institute of Peace, 2009), 121–2.

17 T/n: The name *Srbislavci* is derived from *Srbi*(n)/*Serb*(s) and *Slavi*/*Slavs* (Sr.).

18 *Dosije: Zločini nad Hrvatima u Vojvodini,* (Beograd: Fond za humanitarno pravo, 2019), 23–8.

19 Vladimir Gligorov, *Zašto se zemlje raspadaju: Slučaj Jugoslavija,* (Beograd: Peščanik, 2014), 111.

Even though by the end of 1991, according to the International Commissariat for Refugees, this bloody cycle involved over 500,000 people, the worst was yet to come.[20] This tragedy reached truly dire proportions when the conflict moved to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Owing to the population structure (Muslims 43.47%, Serbs 31.21%, Croats 17.38%, Yugoslavs 5.54%, etc.) and its distribution on the famous Bosnian "leopard skin," an even more destructive force was necessary to provoke national regrouping. To this end, the Serbian side in Bosnia formulated a plan, secretly adopted at the May 1992 assembly session, and published in the Republika Srpska Official Gazette on November 26, 1993, which envisaged: state separation from the other two national communities in Bosnia, creating a corridor between Semberija and Krajina, the elimination of the Drina River as border between Serbian territories, the establishment of a border on the rivers Una and Neretva, the division of Sarajevo into a Serbian and Muslim part, and creating a sea exit for Republika Srpska.[21] The Croatian puppet state of Herzeg-Bosnia acted in a similar manner, adhering to the same logic of violent separation that would lead to the realization of Tuđman's intention to "fatten the [Croatian] bun," that is, to correct the Croatian borders.[22] The rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina was also subject to ethno-nationalist pressure, although Sarajevo's leadership declaratively advocated for the preservation of an inclusive, multi-ethnic Bosnia.[23]

Once these goals were established, their realization caused brutalities on a large scale. The three-and-a-half-year war took over 100,000 lives. That this violence was motivated by ethnic engineering is best evidenced by the great population movements. By the end of the war, 2.2 million refugees and displaced persons were documented, half of whom were Bosniaks – practically every second person. In just one day, over 20,000 Bosniak women and children were expelled from Srebrenica. Out of more than 15,000 men heading from Srebrenica to Tuzla, less than half arrived; the rest were killed. As the war was coming to a close, the ethnic map was flattened in Croatia as well – in just a few days, over 200,000 Serbs were expelled during Operation Storm. Milošević's regime attempted to divert these people to Kosovo. Such tendencies continued even

20 UNHCR, *The State of The World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action*, 218. https://www.unhcr.org/publications/sowr/4a4c754a9/state-worlds-refugees-2000-fifty-years-humanitarian-action.html

21 Vladimir Petrović, *Srpske političke elite i Vens-Ovenov plan II. Stenografske beleške sa zasedanja Narodna skupštine Republike Srpske*, (Beograd: 2011), 78.

22 This is what Josip Manolić, the former Croatian prime minister spoke about on this leadership's trial in the Hague. SENSE Tribunal, "Tuđmanova naklapanja i želje," 3. 7. 2006., http://www.sense-agency.com/tribunal_(mksj)/tudjmanova-naklapanja-i-zelje.25.html?cat_id=1&news_id=3735

23 Edin Omerčić, "Bosna i Hercegovina u političkoj projekciji intelektualnih krugova (1992–1995)", *Historijska traganja*, 13, 2014, 34–36.

after peace prevailed – over 100,000 Serbs left Sarajevo, filling in the ethnic gaps in Eastern Bosnia. That no lessons were learned was shown by the escalation of the Kosovo crisis in 1998, followed by an increase in the number of internally displaced Albanians, and in the spring of 1999, after the bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, there was an exodus of over 800,000 Albanians expelled from Kosovo. They mostly returned in the summer of the same year, however no less than 100,000 Serbs left Kosovo after the army's withdrawal following the bombing in the summer of the same year. Overall, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimated that the war generated a huge humanitarian crisis in the territory of Yugoslavia, creating approximately 2.4 million refugees and 2 million more internally displaced persons.[24]

A wide range of violent means was used to this end, from persuasion, threat and coercion, through destruction of property, detention and expulsion, to rape, individual and mass murders. The consequences could be traced through the ethnic structure of Yugoslavia just before the war and the appearance of the post-Yugoslav space a decade later.[25]

How did every sixth inhabitant of Yugoslavia forcibly change his/her place of residence? Whether they had become refugees or temporarily displaced persons depended on whether they sought safety within or outside the country. Between 600,000 and 800,000 asylum seekers from the former Yugoslavia were absorbed by EU member states; half of them went to Germany.[26] When asked a seemingly simple question: *since when have you been here?* many retort with the same, short but telling and bleak answer: *my folks came here in 1992.*

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24 Even though most of these estimations were disputed by the warring parties, the extent of the crime and number of victims were analyzed by a number of scientists, demographers, and judicial institutions, non-governmental and international organizations. cf. Marie Janine Calic, "Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes," in: *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies,* eds. Charles Ingrao & Thomas Emmeret (Washington D.C.: US Institute of Peace, 2009), 115–151; Bela Hovy, "Koliko ih je napustilo zemlju? Raseljavanje građana bivše Jugoslavije," in *Migracije, krize i ratni sukobi na Balkanu s kraja 20. veka*, ed. Goran Penev, (Društvo demografa Srbije i Demobalk, 2011), 27–47; EVA, UNHCR, *The State of The World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2000: 224–225); Eva Tabeau, *Rat u brojkama demografski gubici u ratovimana teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije od 1991. do 1999. Glavni izveštaji demografskih veštaka predstavljeni od strane tužilaštva na suđenjima u Međunarodnom krivičnom sudu za bivšu Jugoslaviju,* (Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava, 2009); Mapa žrtava ratova devedesetih na području bivše Jugoslavije, http://zrtveratovasfrj.info/site/list/sr-Latn-RS UNHCR, *The State of The World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action,* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2000), 218–242. https://www.unhcr.org/publications/sowr/4a4c754a9/state-worlds-refugees-2000-fifty-years-humanitarian-action.html

25 For more information compare the map showing the ethnic image of the Yugoslav nationalities according to the 1981 census. http://www.arhivyu.gov.rs/active/en/home/glavna_navigacija/izlozbe/izlozbe_arhiva/izl_2009_stalna.html, and the map showing the ethnic distribution in the post-Yugoslav space In 2013, https://i.redd.it/vozotjy3rag31.jpg

26 Bela Hovy, "Koliko ih je napustilo zemlju? Raseljavanje građana bivše Jugoslavije," in: *Migracije, krize i ratni sukobi na Balkanu s kraja 20. veka*, ed. G. Penev, (Društvo demografa Srbije i DemoBalk, 2011), 35

On the other hand, most of the refugees, found permanent residence in those republics of the Former Yugoslavia, which they perceived they belonged to. Some settled with relatives and in temporary accommodation, which in practice proved to be permanent for many years. Although the number of displaced persons decreased after the war, in 2005 there were as many as 600,000 and in 2012 there were still over 330,000 registered refugees and displaced persons.[27] Even today, 30,000 refugees from the Yugoslav wars have not been taken care of properly in Serbia, while in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are still approximately one hundred collective centers for the accommodation of refugees.[28] However, this does not mean that the remaining 4 million returned home. Some did, but others moved, either within the post-Yugoslav space or outside it.

Since ethnocentrism continues to be this region's enduring feature, much has been written about expelled Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks and Albanians, while certain, less visible features of this war remain underreported. Take, for example, mental exile. According to the 1981 census, there were nearly 1,300,000 Yugoslavs living in Yugoslavia. This number almost halved in the following decade. Apparently, under the burden of the crisis, the ethnonationalist logic was already at play, so that only 710,000 people declared themselves Yugoslavs in the 1991 census. Expectedly, during and after the war, their numbers dropped dramatically. While only traces remained in other Yugoslav republics, in 2001 there were just over 80,000 in Serbia and barely 23,000 ten years later. So, from 1981 until today, 1.270,000 Yugoslavs have disappeared.[29]

Where are these missing persons? It is unlikely that they were all driven out of the country. For the most part, they were cast out of their identity. They were forced or felt the need to express themselves according to the prevailing national sentiments of their environment. Little has been said and written about this dimension of exile, observed only in the case of "mixed marriages", which is an other ugly term born in those cruel times.

All in all, there are almost 2 million people less living on the territories of Yugoslavia's successor states than in 1991.[30] This is in part a consequence of wartime exile, and partly of postwar despair, which brought both negative pop-

27 *Idem*, 37.

28 N1 BiH, "U B i H još uvijek postoji preko stotinu kolektivnih centara," 19. 6. 2019. http://ba.n1info.com/Vijesti/a267506/U-BiH-jos-uvijek-postoji-preko-stotinu-kolektivnih-centara.html

29 Neven Isailović, "Ko su (bili) Jugosloveni?," *Peščanik*, 29. 9. 2011. https://pescanik.net/ko-su-bili-jugosloveni/

30 Večernji list, "Veliki gubici: Na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije živi 1,8 milijuna stanovnika manje nego 1991." 9. 12. 2015. https://www.vecernji.ba/vijesti/na-prostoru-bivse-jugoslavije-zivi-oko-18-milijuna-stanovnika-manje-nego-1991-1043146

ulation growth and the immigration of a whole generation of mostly young and educated people in search of a better life. The Yugoslav experience thus reveals how porous the line between wartime refugees and economic migration is. It also shows that at the root of both phenomena is a man-made disaster. Until recently the Yugoslav tragedy was thought to be an atavistic conflict and the last chapter of a brutal twentieth century. Today, it seems more likely that it was heralding the global crisis of our times in which, it is estimated by the United Nations High Commissariat for Refugees, no less than 70 million people are wandering across the planet in search of refuge.[31]

31 *UNHCR 2019 Figures at Glance*, https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html

Najkraći put u svet — Der Kürzeste Weg in Die Welt

Migracija, građanska prava i EU u državama bivše Jugoslavije — Novi pogled nakon 15 godina

1. Uvod u razloge za (ponovno) objavljivanje

Ovaj tekst zasniva se na istraživanju sprovedenom u okviru „Transit Migration", projekta koji sam sprovela u saradnji sa sociološkinjom Rutvicom Andrijašević i sound-art umetnicima Dont Rhine i Elliot Perkins iz grupe Ultra-red. Istraživanje je sprovedeno u Sloveniji, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji. Tekst je objavljen 2007. godine u knjizi *Turbulentni rubovi. Novi pogledi na migracije na granicama Evrope* (originalni naslov: *Turbulente Ränder. Neue Perspektiven auf Migration an den Grenzen Europas*), koji je naša istraživačka grupa zajedno i predstavila. Istraživanje nismo sprovodili samo u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije već i u Turskoj i Grčkoj. Cilj nam je bio da istražimo sprovođenje zajedničkog pograničnog režima na rubovima Evrope i da to učinimo iz perspektive migracija, tj. da metodološki u žižu svog istraživanja stavimo migrantske prakse. Time smo otvorili put za pristup tzv. autonomiji migracija, koja nam je omogućila da usmerimo pogled na aktere migracione politike ne samo na državnom nivou, odnosno na strani EU, već i da tu politiku dovedemo u vezu s konkretnim politikama migracija u pojedinim državama i regijama Jugoistočne Evrope. S obzirom na to da nam je finansijsku podršku pružila Fondacija za kulturu Savezne Republike Nemačke (Kulturstiftung des Bundes), bili smo u mogućnosti da spojimo naučnoistraživački s naučno-umetničkim pristupom i time razvijemo i drugačije istraživačke modele. Iz projekta sprovedenog na području nekadašnje Jugoslavije su tako, pored tekstova, proizašli i dva albuma zasnovana na zvučnoj etnografiji (Sound-Ethnographie), pod nazivom *Blok 70*, što je dopunio još jedan kome su pak svojim remiksima doprineli sound-umetnici i muzičari iz regije nekadašnje Jugoslavije. Odluka da se iznova objavi ovaj tekst, iako u blago prerađenoj i skraćenoj formi, čini se pogotovu zanimljivom

s obzirom na to da je tema tranzitne migracije kroz nekadašnju Jugoslaviju od „migrantskog leta", tj. od izbegličkog talasa 2015. do danas, iznova probudila svest o izbeglištvu i migracijama u regiji nekadašnje Jugoslavije, ali i kroz nju. Radi se o tome da se iznova prisetimo situacije od pre 15 godina, koja se čini kao kakva vrsta predznaka pošto su već tada postavljeni uslovi za današnje stanje. Ovaj tekst sam za ovu priliku dosta skratila i blago izmenila.

2. Evropa – jedno nemoguće građanstvo?

Nekoliko godina nakon rata u Jugoslaviji regija može i dalje da bude indikator za evropski proces ujedinjenja. Još za vreme vojnih obračuna u Evropi nije postojalo jednoglasje o tome da li Balkan pripada Evropi ili ne. Zagovornici vojnih i političkih intervencija ili NATO bombardovanja argumentovali su da politika progona koja se sprovodila tokom rata ne sme biti dozvoljena na evropskom tlu, a s druge strane, upravo je Evropa bila ta koja je intervenisala u ime zaštite ljudskih prava. Jedan od političkih motora te nejasnoće bio je „Pakt za stabilnost Jugoistočne Evrope", osmišljen kao „podrška za razvoj sposobnosti za EU". Koordinator Pakta Erhard Busek objasnio je kako je Pakt za stabilnost u suštini trening kamp (up. FAZ od 9. 4. 2006). Naša istraživanja o migracionim kretanjima i konfliktima oko koncepta građanstva dozvoljavaju naspram toga tezu da i regiju možemo shvatiti kao trening kamp za EU. Sama EU do danas reprodukuje svoju nemogućnost kroz unutrašnje granice koje stvara svojom politikom prema migrantima na Balkanu. Stoga je u ovom istraživanju bilo bitno ispitati i nemogućnosti i mogućnosti koncepta građanstva u Evropi, na šta se i odnosi pitanje koje je postavio Etjen Balibar (Etienne Balibar, 2003, 24) s obzirom na pogranična područja u nastajanju na kontinentu: „Evropa – jedno nemoguće građanstvo".

3. Rat, državnost, migracija

Rat u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji prevazilazio je uništenje neprijateljske vojske. On je potpuno izokrenuo i preformulisao život stanovništva, redefinisao granice i stvorio političku geografiju regije. U daljem njegovom sledu stvorile su se nove vlade i nevladine organizacije, dok su deo procesa pomirenja preuzeli međunarodni i nacionalni sudovi. Nastali su novi oblici kontrole i migracionih praksi (up. Negri 2003). Kako bi se predupredili novi konflikti, čak duže od decenije posle ratnih okršaja u regiji, čitav niz još danas postojećih država nastoji da pitanje internog i eksternog suvereniteta ostane otvoreno. Često se previđa da je upletenost EU u tzv. Proces stabilizacije regije imala nusefekte u pogledu miniranja i transformacije

državnosti, što posebno biva vidljivo na osnovu migracionih i ljudskopravaških politika sa svim brojnim akterima, poput državnog aparata, supranacionalnih agencija, nevladinih organizacija i migrantskih praksi. Kontroverzni Proces stabilizacije i pridruživanja (SAP), koji su obeležili i konflikti i koji je potom sprovođen kroz tzv. CARDS-Program (Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization Programme), stvorio je okvir za različite dinamike i brzine između država tzv. Zapadnog Balkana (u koje se ubraja i Albanija, ali ne i Slovenija) u pogledu implementacije migracionih politika, graničnih kontrola i ljudskih prava. Isprva su cilj bili homogenizacija politika i stvaranje slobodnog kretanja shodno šengenskom modelu EU, s tim što je projekat stvaranja mini EU na Balkanu, koja bi potom bila u celosti integrisana, početkom 2000-ih godina potisnut politikom različitih brzina, u toj meri što su i Hrvatska i Makedonija zvanično uživale status kandidata. Opšte je poznato da je Hrvatska u međuvremenu postala deo EU, dok je preostali proces pridruživanja u velikoj meri nakon toga zastao, kao i da su drugi procesi, poput globalne dužničke i finansijske krize, u međuvremenu izazvali i krizu evropskog procesa, čije posledice još nije moguće sagledati (šlagvort: Bregzit).

Kako bi se razumeli mnogoslojni procesi deregulacije i re-regulacije teritorija i stanovništva početkom 2000-ih godina, od centralnog značaja je šlagvort *Management of Population Movements* (upravljanje kretanjem stanovništva) koji je počeo da se uspostavlja u tom periodu. Na osnovu četiri ključna aspekta važio je za centralni strateški topos EU: (1) usled rata je, po procenama, milion izbeglica naseljavalo ovu regiju (jedan od najvećih brojeva u svetu); (2) četiri od pet zemalja tzv. Zapadnog Balkana spadale su među najčešće zemlje porekla tražilaca azila u EU; (3) trebalo je podržavati povratak migrantkinja i migranata poreklom iz nekadašnje Jugoslavije (u dokumentima su se pominjale čak i treće generacije, većinom ratnih izbeglica); (4) na osnovu relativno slabih graničnih struktura, ove zemlje su, uz podršku krijumčara, važile za tranzitne zemlje u EU. Glavni operativni cilj koji je trebalo postići bilo je suzbijanje „ilegalne migracije". U tu svrhu je trebalo u svim zemljama uvesti jedinstveno zakonodavstvo za azil kao i tzv. *Integrated Border Management* (integrisano upravljanje granicama). Ove mere su u celokupnoj regiji stvorile glavne mehanizme za državnu kontrolu granica. Aspekt kontrole je u upravljanju migracijama dobio dopunu: „samo kontrola", kako stoji u jednom od MARRI dokumenata Pakta za stabilnost, „neće garantovati sigurnost za države ukoliko ne bude ispraćena merama koje oslobađaju produktivne resurse za povratak građana, uključujući migrante". Slogan *freedom of movement* (sloboda kretanja) oživeo je u tom kontekstu na novi način i podrazumevao viznu liberalizaciju u okviru regije i izvan nje. Slobodno kretanje

smatralo se presudnim kako bi se osigurala stabilnost u regiji i pospešile ekonomske reforme. Implementacija EU migracionih politika se u to vreme u zemljama nekadašnje Jugoslavije u različitoj meri sprovodila – što bliže granicama EU, to regulisanije, moglo bi se reći.

4. Ko su migranti?

Iako je reč o nedovoljno pirhvaćenoj činjenici, izvestan proces evropskih integracija odigravao se daleko izvan spoljnih granica EU. Taj proces – a tako glasi i jedna od premisa našeg istraživačkog projekta TRANSIT MIGRATION – ne može se razumeti bez analize različitih migrantskih kretanja, koja su, shodno različitim mrežama, prolazila kroz ovu regiju ili počinjala od nje. Ona su oblikovala fragilan osnov za implementaciju EU politike spram migracija i građanskih prava. Na taj način su na prostoru nekadašnje Jugoslavije nastala nova „pogranična područja" (Balibar). Ne samo da se EU širila preko svojih spoljnih granica, multidirekcionalna migraciona kretanja su sa svoje strane pospešivala evropeizaciju kontinenta. Kako su naša istraživanja u Sloveniji, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji pokazala, postojale su različite grupe migrantkinja i migranata čija je povest oslikavala političke, društvene i ekonomske promene koje su se dešavale nakon 1989. u Jugoslaviji. One su uticale na migracije koje su u stalnom procesu.

Rat je u velikoj meri pokrenuo izbeglička kretanja i organizovane progone. U Beogradu smo naišli na vukovce, većinom muškarce koji su se skupljali oko spomenika Vuku Stafanoviću Karadžiću na nekadašnjem Bulevaru revolucije i nudili se kao nadničari. Većina ih je izbegla od rata, neki su tokom NATO bombardovanja došli s Kosova. Naišli smo i na pojedince koji su imali iskustva s radnom migracijom u Nemačkoj. Svakog dana su na tom mestu, kao jeftina radna snaga, čekali da ih neko pokupi, da na nekom gradilištu ili nekom poljoprivrednom dobru rade za male nadnice ili satnice. Mnogi od njih živeli su u više od 400 baraka i privremenih smeštaja organizovanih za tzv. interno raseljena lica. „Beograd je izbeglički kamp", rekao je jedan od njih u intervjuu. Jedna druga grupa nadničara dolazila je, većinom sezonski, leti, iz Rumunije ili Bugarske. Oni su se ubrajali u one „bez papira", koje je policija godinama hvatala i proterivala (up. Nikolić-Ristanović 2004, 40).

Međutim, nisu sve izbeglice krenule na put u zemlje kojima su etnički pripadale, već su izbegle tamo gde su se nadale zaštiti. Mnogi od njih živeli su više od 10 godina u kampu u barakama na rubovima Ljubljane s privremenim statusom boravka koji im nije omogućavao rad niti socijalne ili zdravstvene usluge. Deca

su, doduše, mogla da pohađaju školu, a mladi da steknu obrazovanje, no nakon toga nisu mogli da zasnuju radni odnos. Mnogi su stoga bili u neformalnim radnim odnosima i time rizikovali da budu proterani. Neki su se dovijali alternativnim putevima i odlazili dalje u Nemačku ili Austriju. Godine 2002. grad Ljubljana doneo je odluku da rasformira kamp u kome je živelo oko 2000 izbeglica i da sprovede EU preporuke u domenu migracionih politika u smislu zahteva za proces proširenja. Na istom mestu planirana je bila izgradnja doma za tražioce azila. Stanovnici baraka pozvani su da traže nov smeštaj, ili, još bolje, da se vrate odakle su došli. No, to nije bio samo ciničan zahtev već i komplikovani poduhvat s obzirom na to da je većina tih ljudi izbegla iz Srebrenice.

Kako ne bi iznova bili podvrgnuti politici proterivanja, organizovali su se u „Bosanski komitet za izbeglice" i uz podršku slovenačkih grupa zainteresovali opštu javnost. Zajedno su organizovali festival koji je posetilo oko 7000 ljudi. U okviru festivala jednog popodneva organizovan je i fudbalski turnir, a ekipe su igrale za „Kup privremenih dobitnika". Uveče je, pored slovenačkih i hrvatskih bendova, na bini nastupao i Manu Chao. Festivalu su sledile druge akcije koje su takođe imale odjek u javnosti i bile značajne za političko rešenje problema. Sve to je vodilo ka dobijanju neograničenog prava na boravak i rad, kao i prava na obrazovanje. Čak im je bio garantovan i novi smeštaj u stanovima u Ljubljani.

5. Tranzitna migracija – „jedan veliki cirkus"

Naučni radovi uobičajeno promiču pretpostavku da su države te koje regulišu ulazak u zemlju i boravak u njoj. No (ne samo) u Srbiji, niz supranacionalnih i međunarodnih organizacija u velikoj meri je uticao i oblikovao državnu politiku i različite momente migracione politike. Migracioni režim u Srbiji sastojao se od različitih aktera. Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova i granična policija bili su odgovorni za kontrolu državnih granica, a u okviru državne teritorije policija koja je sprovodila kontrolu ličnih dokumenata. Upravo su oni i upravljali „prihvatnim centrom" Padinska Skela u koji su smeštani migranti bez papira. Tokom našeg istraživačkog boravka imali smo retku priliku da posetimo ovu ustanovu. Mogli smo da vidimo da je deo regularnog zatvora preuređen u smeštajni centar za migrante koji su „ilegalno" prešli granicu. Od tada svi migranti koji su na granici ili u Srbiji uhvaćeni bez papira dovođeni su u Padinsku Skelu. Tamo nije trebalo da budu zadržani duže od 30 dana. U tom periodu trebalo je da se sprovedu mere vraćanja u zemlje porekla. Ukoliko bi migranti podneli zahtev za azil, smeštani su u Motel „1000 ruža" na obodu Beograda. Tokom naše posete Padinskoj Skeli, pod izgovorom da su migranti poreklom iz Kine i Bangladeša i da ne govore nijednim

jezikom kojim bismo mogli da se sporazumemo, nije nam bilo dozvoljeno da razgovaramo s privedenima. Tokom intervjua sa odgovornim upravnikom kampa za readmisiju saznali smo da su u readmisiju srpskih državljana iz Nemačke uključene i srpske državne institucije. Na pitanje kakve su prakse za povratnike, te kakve su mogućnosti za regulaciju migracije, naš sagovornik je izjavio da se radi o velikom cirkusu u kome se tranzitni migranti prebacuju tamo-vamo između zemalja Evrope. To se neće promeniti, smatrao je on, sve dok u svetu postoje različiti stupnjevi siromaštva.

Iako je kamp bio pod direktnom nadležnošću Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova, pitanja koja su se ticala statusa boravka migrantkinja i migranata u Padinskoj Skeli bila su pod ingerencijom drugih državnih aparata. Crveni krst, UNHCR i IOM redovno su posećivali kamp. Crveni krst bio je odgovoran za medicinsku brigu i delio je telefonske kartice kako bi migrantkinje i migranti mogli da komuniciraju i van kampa. UNHCR imao je kancelariju u zgradi u kojoj su vođeni intervjui sa zatočenicima koji su hteli da podnesu zahtev za azil. Ukoliko se radilo o porodicama, ili su postojali medicinski razlozi, ili se radilo o osobama koje su podnele zahtev za azil shodno Ženevskoj konvenciji iz 1951, te grupacije su odvođene u prihvatni kamp Motel „1000 ruža". Do 2008. godine u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori nije postojao Zakon o azilu. Migrantkinje i migranti stoga nisu mogli da podnesu zahtev za azil u tim zemljama, pa je UNHCR odlučivao u kom pojedinačnom slučaju bi neka evropska zemlja ili Kanada mogle da odobre azil. Nakon te odluke, na državnim aparatima bila je odluka da li će određenoj osobi dodeliti zvaničan status tražioca azila. Zbog postojanja Sporazuma o ponovnom preuzimanju između Srbije i Bugarske, UNHCR u Beogradu je migrantkinjama i migrantima koju su dolazili iz tog pravca preporučivao da se vrate u Bugarsku i tamo zatraže azil. No, nisu svi migranti koje smo tokom naše prve posete Motelu „1000 ruža" sreli – pre nego što nam je zabranjen pristup pod izgovorom da bismo mogli da ometamo proces dobijanja azila – bili uhvaćeni pri prelasku granice. Neki od njih su već godinama živeli bez važećih dokumenata u Beogradu. U Motelu „1000 ruža" sreli smo ljude iz Avganistana, Azerbejdžana, Irana, Jordana i Somalije koji su presretnuti na putu u EU ili SAD. Neki od njih isprva su posedovali turističke vize, drugi su pak uz pomoć krijumčara prešli granicu. Tako smo čuli priče o profesionalnim pomagačima za prelaz preko granice koji su tvrdili da su svoje klijente dovodili čak do Austrije, a koji bi odmah nestajali nakon prvog susreta. Migranti s kojima smo razgovarali smatrali su takvo ponašanje osnovom biznisa. Ispostavilo se da od samog početka svog puta nisu imali iluzija vezanih za to kako će se tokom putovanja ophoditi prema njima. Većina migrantkinja i migranata smeštenih u Motelu „1000 ruža" bila je pre toga internirana u Padinskoj Skeli. U

našem razgovoru su na drastičan način govorili o katastrofalnim uslovima pod kojima su držani, nekad i duže od tri meseca. U Motelu „1000 ruža" čekali su da se obradi njihov zahtev za azil. Neki su nastavljali put na sopstvenu inicijativu jer im dugo vremena čekanja i sama procedura obrade zahteva nisu bili jasni. Za razliku od Srbije, u kojoj je jako mali broj migranata s kojima smo razgovarali želeo da ostane, Mađarska je zbog članstva u EU bila privlačan cilj. Bez sumnje, Motel „1000 ruža" bio je tačka komunikacije i razmene. Na taj način smo saznali još jednu priču: Ukoliko želiš da stigneš do Mađarske, moraš prvo da stigneš do granice s Austrijom. Ako te uhvati granična policija, kažeš da si došao iz Mađarske, onda te oni tamo vrate.

6. Najkraći put u svet

Tokom rata u Jugoslaviji još jedna grupa je tu našla utočište. U Beogradu smo naišli na Rome koji su bili izbegli u Nemačku, a neki od njih su tamo živeli i duže od deset godina. Kao ratnim izbeglicama dodeljen im je status tzv. trpljenja (nem. Duldung), koji su svaka tri meseca morali da obnavljaju. Većina ih se vratila za Srbiju kroz program tzv. dobrovoljne readmisije, u okviru kojeg su dobijali oko dve sedmice da se pripreme za povratak i spakuju svoje stvari. Dobrovoljna readmisija usledila bi kada bi izostala socijalna pomoć ili bila oduzeta radna dozvola. Sama procedura se odvijala veoma brzo. Ujutro bi došla policija i odvela dotičnog/dotične na aerodrom i istog dana bi nekim letom JAT-a doleteli u Beograd. Tamo bi ih dočekao stari plakat Jugoslovenskog aviotransporta koji je i u vreme našeg istraživanja stajao i svojim upečatljivim sloganom mnogo toga obećavao: „Najkraći put u svet". Proces dobrovoljne readmisije dozvoljavao je kratkotrajne povratke za Nemačku – ali samo za kratko zadržavanje ili odmor. Jednom „vraćeni" morali su da se oslanjaju na svoje porodične ili prijateljske veze. Kako bi finansijski preživeli, neki su radili kao nadničari na pijacama ili u jednom tržnom centru na Novom Beogradu.

7. Prekarizacija rada, prekarizacija migracije

Neki od naših sagovornika reagovali su odmahivanjem glavom na naše pitanje o postojanju tranzitne migracije u Srbiji. Ulepšani brojevi zvanične statistike nezaposlenost u Srbiji procenjivali su na 30%. Pogotovu među mladima, koji su iz finansijskih razloga ostajali da žive kod roditelja, većina nije imala stalno zaposlenje. Ugovori o radu bili su retkost, većina je radila čas ovde, čas onde, na po nekoliko meseci, a u međuvremenu nisu zarađivali nikakav novac (up.

Kanzleiter 2004). Tranzitna migracija nije bila tema vredna pomena. Pri našoj poslednjoj istraživačkoj poseti u leto 2004. čak 14 fabrika bilo je u štrajku zbog privatizacije. Uspostavljeni režim prekarizacije i rizika uveo je nov odnos prema nadničenju i preduzetništvu, prema radnom i slobodnom vremenu. Upečatljiva pojava bila je ta da se veliki deo rada nije vratio u relativno sigurne radne odnose koji su vladali tokom perioda industrijalizacije Jugoslavije s odgovarajućim oblicima organizacije radnika, tj. formalizacija radnih odnosa više nije uspostavljena. A pritom neformalni oblici radnog odnosa nisu bili poseban, za sebe ograničen sektor, pre je većina radnih odnosa podlegala ovoj šemi. U toj situaciji društvene veze i veze na osnovu saradnje postale su značajne strategije preživljavanja i oblik svakodnevne privrede. Čak i emigraciju treba uračunati u ove strategije, makar ona često ostajala samo san o egzodusu.

8. Prakse građanstva

Nove prakse kontrole, regulacije i ograničavanja migracije imale su svoj osnov u programima MARRI ili CARDS, koji su tu situaciju prekarizacije činile produktivnom i upravljale njome. Istovremeno je njihov cilj bila stabilizacija demokratskih institucija i slobodnog kretanja u regiji. U suštini politike viznog i graničnog, kao i migracionog režima bile su predmet jake hijerarhizacije, što je i danas slučaj. Proces proširenja vodio je do uspostavljanja diferenciranih prostora s različitim stupnjevima mobilnosti radne snage i različitom dostupnošću građanskih prava, što se nije uvek podudaralo s nacionalnim granicama (up. Rigo 2005). Prostori nastali preklapanjem napravili su od Evrope pograničnu regiju koja nema veze sa Šengenskim ugovorom niti sa spoljnim granicama EU. Svuda se nalazi granica koja se sve više provlači i ka unutra i koja se istovremeno kapilarnim putevima prenosi ka spolja. Granice ispunjavaju regulativnu funkciju čiji cilj nije da iskoreni migraciju, već da ograniči broj migrantkinja i migranata i uspostavi stanje stalne prekarizacije.

Pod tim uslovima pojam migranta je privremen. Počeli smo da se pitamo da li su građanska prava uopšte korisna kategorija u kontekstu migracija koje same po sebi stavljaju pod znak pitanja granice koncepta građanskih prava. Kako garantovati prava, da se prisetimo bitnog pitanja koje je postavila Hana Arent onim osobama koje nemaju nikakva prava? Kako stoji s građanskim pravima u Evropi i na njenim granicama?

Konstantno miniranje državnog suvereniteta kroz tzv. politike upravljanja (governance policy) EU načinilo je vidljivim granice koncepta evropskog građanstva

koji i danas nužno utiče na različite vidove konflikata koji se vode upravo oko tog građanskog prava. Pod uslovom nemogućnosti građanstva možda se danas upravo stvara preduslov za to da se podrije miniranje rada institucija: kroz autonomne prakse građanstva na način kako se od 2015. pruža podrška migrantkinjama i migrantima, a sve u smislu održavanja demokratizacije društva u regiji. Ko će na kraju prevladati i ko će biti u stanju da utiče na dalji i naposletku konačan ishod konflikta, nikako ne može biti izvesno.

Prevela s nemačkog: Maria Glišić

The Fastest Route Into The World — Der Kürzeste Weg in Die Welt

Migration, Civil Rights and the EU in the Former Yugoslavian Countries — An update after 15 years

1. Introduction into the reason behind the (re)publication

This text is based on research carried out by *Tranzit Migration* between 2003 and 2005 with sociologist Rutvica Andrijašević and sound artists Dont Rhine and Elliot Perkins of *Ultra-Red* sound art collective. The research was carried out in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia. This article was published in a 2007 book entitled *Turbulent Frontiers. New Perspectives on on Migration at European Borders* (in German: *Turbulente Ränder. Neue Perspektiven auf Migration an den Grenzen Europas*) and presented our group's joint research. The research was carried out not only in the former Yugoslavian countries, but also in Turkey and Greece. Our aim was to investigate the implementation of the European Border Regime on the fringes of Europe from a migration perspective, i.e. to focus on migrant practices methodologically. The "Migration Autonomy" approach opened a perspective on migration which allowed us to observe the key figures of migration policy not only on the level of state or the EU, but to link the policy to the specific migration practices in respective Southeastern European Countries. Being funded by the German Federal Cultural Foundation (Kulturstiftung des Bundes), we managed combine both the scientific-research and scientific-artistic practice and thus to develop different models of research. The project that was carried out across the territory of the former Yugoslavia yielded not only the texts, but also two music albums entitled *Blok 70*. They are based on sound etnography and were supplemented by yet another album that consists of remixes recorded by sound artists and musicians from the region of the former Yugoslavia. The decision to republish this text, albeit in a slightly modified and abridged form, seems particularly interesting in view of the fact that the issue of transit migration through the

territory of the former Yugoslavia since the "summer of migration", i.e. the 2015 refugee wave to this day, has raised awareness of the renewed presence of flight and migration in and throughought the region of the former Yugoslavia. This is also a reminder of the situation from some 15 years ago, which now seems like a herald, for it was then that the conditions for the present circumstances were laid. I have greatly shortened and slightly revised the text for this publication.

2. Europe – an impossible citizenship?

Several years after the end of the war in Yugoslavia, the region remained a significant indicator of the European unification process. Even during the military conflicts, there was no consensus on whether the Balkans were part of Europe or not. Advocates of military and political interventions or the NATO bombing maintained that the policy of persecution pursued during the war must not be allowed on European soil, but still it was Europe that intervened in the name of human rights. One of the political perpetuators of this uncertainty is the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, envisaged to "support and develop EU capability". The Pact coordinator, Erhard Busek, explained how said Stability Pact was a training camp (see FAZ dated April 9, 2006). By contrast, our study on migration movement and disputes over the concept of citizenship, allows for the region to be understood as an EU training camp. To this day, EU has displayed its own incapability through internal boundaries it creates through its migration policies in the Balkans. Therefore, this study addresses both the impossibility and the possibility of the concept of citizenship in Europe, to which also the issue raised by Etienne Balibar regarding the emerging border areas on the Continent is related: "Europe – an impossible citizenship?" (see Balibar 2003, 24).

3. War, statehood, migration

The war in the former Yugoslavia exceeded the destruction of enemy armies. It utterly transformed people's lifestyle, redefined the borders and shaped the political geography of the region. Subsequently, new governments and non-governmental organizations got involved, while international and national courts partook in the reconciliation process. New forms of control and migration policy practices emerged (see Negri 2003). In order to prevent conflicts more than a decade after the end of the war in the region, a number of still extant states have been instituted to leave the questions about their internal and external sovereignty open. The frequently overlooked involvement of the EU in

the so-called stabilization process of the region has had side effects in terms of statehood undermining and transformation, which is particularly noticeable through migration and civil rights policies with their numerous figures such as state-apparatus, supranational agencies, non-governmental organizations and migration policy practices. The controversial Stabilization and Association process (SAP), marked by conflicts and subsequently carried out through the so-called CARDS Programme (Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization Programme), provided the framework for different dynamics and integration tempos among the so-called Western Balkan countries (no longer including Slovenia, but including Albania instead) in terms of the implementation of migration policies, border controls and civil rights. The initial goal was to homogenize the policies and to create a region of free movement in accordance with the EU Schengen model. However, the project to create a mini-EU in the Balkans, which was to be integrated as a whole, had been hampered by different integration tempos, in that Croatia and Macedonia were officially recognized as candidate countries. We know that Croatia became an EU member in the meantime, whereas the further process of association has largely come to a standstill. Meanwhile, other processes, such as the global debt and financial crisis, have triggered a crisis of the European process, the consequences of which are yet to be observed. (keyword: Brexit)

In order to better understand the multi-layered processes of the de- and re-regulation of the territories and populations in early 2000s, the catchphrase "Management of Population Movements" has to be properly understood. It was considered to be a key strategic topic for the EU according to four different aspects: (1) An estimated one million refugees (one of the largest numbers globally recorded) lived in the region, (2) four out of five so-called Western Balkans countries were the most common EU asylum seekers' countries of origin, (3) the return of male and female migrants from the former Yugoslavia, living in EU, should have been supported (even the third generation was mentioned in the documents, mostly war refugees), (4) due to the relatively weak border structures, these countries, supported by smugglers, were viewed as transit countries en route to the EU. The central operational goal for the future at the time was to suppress "illegal migration". For this purpose, it was necessary to implement uniform asylum legislation throughout the region, together with the so-called "Integrated Border Management". Both measures formed central mechanisms for state border control. The control aspect of migration management was supplemented: "Control alone", states one of the Stability Pact MARRI documents, "will not guarantee security for countries unless it is accompanied by measures

that enhance productive resources for the return of citizens, including migrants". Thus the slogan "freedom of movement" acquired a whole new meaning in this context and considered the liberalization of the visa regime within and outside the region. The freedom of movement was considered crucial in order to ensure the stability within the region and encourage economic reforms. The implementation of the EU migration policies at that time progressed at different rates in different countries of the former Yugoslavia – the closer they were to the EU borders, the more regulated they were, so to say.

4. Who are the migrants?

Despite being insufficiently acknowledged, there was a European integration process that took place beyond the external borders of the EU. That process – according to a premise of our TRANSIT MIGRATION research project – cannot be understood without an analysis of various migratory movements that, according to different networks, either transited the region or began in it. It was they who formed a fragile basis for the implementation of the EU policies vis-à-vis migration and civil rights policies. That is how new border areas emerged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Not only did the EU expand beyond its external borders, but the multi-directional migratory movements, in turn, expedited the Europeanization of the continent. As was shown in our research carried out in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, there were several groups of male and female migrants, whose history reflected the political, social and economic changes that took place in Yugoslavia after 1989. They affected the ever-changing political process of migration. The war turned the refugee movements into organized persecution. In Belgrade we came across the Vukovci, mostly men who gathered around the monument of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in former Bulevar Revolucije, one of the main streets in Belgrade, seeking work as day labourers. Most of them had fled the war and some had come from Kosovo during the NATO bombing. Some people we met had had previous experience being labour migrants in Germany. They would stand there every single day, waiting to be picked up and hired to work minimum hours on a farm or at a construction site for a meagre wage. Many of them lived in over 400 shacks or shelters set up to accommodate the "internally misplaced". "Belgrade is a refugee camp," said one of them in an interview. Another group of day labourers would arrive mostly seasonally, in summer, from Romania or Bulgaria. They were "paperless", lacking permits, constantly apprehended by the police and deported (see Nikolić-Ristanović 2004, 40). However, not all war refugees made their way to those countries where they

belonged ethnically. Some of them fled to the countries they expected protection from. Many of them lived for more than 10 years in a camp with shacks on the outskirts of Ljubljana with a temporary residence status that did not allow them to seek employment, welfare benefits or health care. Although children were allowed to attend schools and young people could complete their degrees, they were unable to find employment. Consequently, many of them were informally employed, thus risking deportation. Some managed to take alternative routes into Germany or Austria. In 2002 the city of Ljubljana decided to dissolve the camp inhabited by some two thousand refugees, and to implement EU migration policy requirements in line with the requirements of the enlargement process. They planned to build a new reception centre for asylum seekers at the same place. The residents of the camp were asked to seek new accommodation or, even better, to return to where they had originally come from. This demand was not only cynical, but also a complicated undertaking due to the fact that most of those people had fled Srebrenica.

In order to avoid being subjected to the new expulsion policy, they organized themselves into the "Bosnian Refugee Committee" and with the support of Slovenian group managed to gain public attention. Together they set up a festival that was attended by about 7,000 people. Part of this festival was an afternoon football tournament where teams contended for the "Temporary winners cup". That evening, apart from a number of Slovenian and Croatian bands, Manu Chao also performed live. The festival was followed by other events which attracted public attention and were important for the political addressing of the problem. The events eventually led to success in the political struggle for gaining the right to a permanent residence and work permit, as well as the right to education. They were even granted new accommodation in apartments in Ljubljana.

5. Transit migration – "a big circus"

Scientific papers on migration usually suggest that it is the state that regulates people's residence and entry into its territory. However, in Serbia (and not only there), there was a number of supranational and international organizations that significantly influenced and shaped state politics and different aspects of migration policies. The migration policy regime in Serbia comprised a number of entities, including the Ministry of Interior and the border police. The police, within the state territory, performed identity checks. It was they who ran the Padinska Skela "reception centre", where migrants without papers were admitted. We had a rare opportunity to visit this facility during our research visit. We witnessed

how one part of a regular prison had been converted into a reception centre for migrants who had "illegally" crossed the border. All immigrants caught without papers in Serbia or at the border were brought to Padinska skela. They were not to be detained for more than 30 days. During this period, return measures to deport them to their countries of origin were to be taken. If they applied for asylum, they were taken to the *1000 Roses* motel on the outskirts of Belgrade. During our visit to Padinska Skela, we were not allowed to talk with the detainees under the pretext that the migrants from China and Bangladesh had arrived and did not speak any language we could use to communicate. During the interview with the responsible manager of the repatriation camp, we learned that Serbian state institutions were involved in the repatriation of Serbian citizens from Germany. When asked about repatriation practices and possibilities for the regulation of migration, our interlocutor declared it was a big circus that passes transit migrants to and from between different European countries. That would not change, he opined, as long as there were different poverty rates present globally.

Although the camp was under direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior, issues relating to the migrants' residence status in Padinska Skela were under the jurisdiction of other state apparatus. The Red Cross, UNHCR and the IOM regularly visited the camp. The Red Cross was responsible for medical care and distributed payphone calling cards so that migrants could keep in touch with people outside the camp. The UNHCR ran an office in the building where they conducted interviews with detainees who sought asylum. If they were families or there was a medical issue, or if they had applied for asylum under the Geneva Convention of 1951, they were taken to the *1000 Roses* motel reception camp. Until 2008 there was no asylum law in Serbia and Montenegro. As a result, male and female migrants could not submit application for asylum in these countries, so instead the UNHCR decided in which individual case asylum could be granted by a European country or Canada. After this decision, it was up to state apparatus to grant a specific person the official status of an asylum seeker. Due to the existence of a readmission agreement between Serbia and Bulgaria, the UNHCR in Belgrade advised the migrants that had arrived from Bulgaria to return to Bulgaria and seek asylum there. However, not all migrants we met during our first visit to the *1000 Roses* motel (before we were denied entry on the pretext that we might interfere with the process of asylum granting procedure) were caught upon trying to cross the border. Some of them had lived in Belgrade for years without valid documents. At the *1000 Roses* motel we met people from Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Iran, Jordan and Somalia, who had been intercepted en route to the EU or the USA. Some of them had initially travelled on tourist visas,

others crossed the border aided by smugglers. That is how we heard stories of professional assistants in transportation across the border, who claimed they had brought their clients all the way to Austria, only to disappear immediately after meeting them. The migrants we talked to considered this business to be based on this kind of treatment of people. It turned out that they had no illusions about how they would be treated during their voyage from the very beginning. Most female and male migrants who stayed at the *1000 Roses* motel had been previously interned in Padinska Skela. They would tell intense stories of catastrophic conditions they were kept in even for three months at times. At the *1000 Roses* motel, they would wait for their asylum application to be processed. Some would resume their voyage on their own initiative because they were uncertain about how much longer they would have to wait and about the very procedure. Unlike Serbia, where very few migrants we talked to wanted to stay, Hungary was an attractive destination due to its EU membership. Undoubtedly, the *1000 Roses* motel was an exchange and communication hub. This is where we heard another story: if you want to get to Hungary, you must first get to the Austrian border. If you get caught by the border police, you say you are from Hungary, so they take you back there.

6. The fastest route into the world

There was another group that came to Yugoslavia during the war. In Belgrade we encountered Roma people who had fled to Germany, some of whom had lived there for more than ten years. Being war refugees, they were entitled to a temporary suspension of deportation (in German: Duldung), which they had to renew every three months. Most of them returned to Serbia through a "voluntary repatriation" programme that gave them two weeks to get ready for their return and pack up. Voluntary repatriation would take place after the suspension of welfare benefit or work permit. The procedure was swift. The police would arrive in the morning and escort them to the airport to catch the first JAT flight to Belgrade. There they would be welcomed by an old Yugoslav Air Transport poster and its promising punchline: "The fastest route into the world". The process of voluntary repatriation allowed people to briefly return to Germany, but only for a short stay or holiday. Once "returned", they had to rely on their family ties or friends. To scrape by, some worked as day labourers at the market or at a department store in New Belgrade.

7. Precarization of work, precarization of migration

Some of the people we talked to would shake their heads in response to our question about the existence of transit migration in Serbia. According to the sugarcoated official statistics, unemployment was estimated to be at 30%, especially among young people who lived at their parents' for financial reasons and very few had a steady job. Employment contracts were rare, most of them would have occasional jobs for a couple of months at a time without earning a penny in the meanwhile (see Kanzleiter 2004). Transit migration was not a topic that was worth mentioning. During our last research visit in the summer of 2004, as many as 14 factories were out on strike due to privatization. The established regime of precarization and risk had brought a new attitude towards day labour and entrepreneurship, and also towards working hours and free time. Emerging job opportunities did not guarantee relatively steady employment which was common during the industrialization of Yugoslavia, with proper forms of workers' self-management, i.e. the formalization of employment had ceased to exist. Meanwhile, informal forms of employment were not a separate, restricted sector, but rather a dominating scheme. In this kind of situation, social connections and connections based on cooperation became increasingly important as survival strategies and everyday economy. Even emigration should be counted as one of these survival strategies, despite often being nothing but a dream of departure.

8. Citizenship practices

The new practices aimed to control, regulate and limit migration can be traced back to programmes such as MARRI or CARDS, which managed the precarization situation and made it productive. Simultaneously, they were meant to promote the stabilization of democratic institutions and the freedom of movement within the region. In essence, the visa, border and migration policies have been subject to strict hierarchies to this day. The enlargement process has lead to the creation of differentiated regions with varying degrees of labour mobility and different civil rights availability, which did not always match the geography of regions within national borders (see Rigo 2005). Regions that emerged through overlapping shaped Europe into a border region that did not match the EU's external borders. The borders have a tendency to progressively move inwards, but are simultaneously directed outwards by means of capillary paths. The borders are assigned the regulatory function which does not aim to suppress migration, but rather to curb the number of male and female migrants and establish a state of permanent precarization.

Under these conditions, the notion of migrant has become provisional. We have begun to wonder if civil rights are a useful category for migration which per se questions the limits of the civil rights concept. How do we grant rights to people who have no rights? – to quote an important question asked by Hannah Arendt. What about citizenship in Europe and on its borders. The constant undermining of state sovereignty through the EU's so-called governance policy has highlighted the limitations of the concept of European citizenship, which has to this day influenced the ways in which conflicts over the very citizenship develop. Today, the impossibility of European citizenship might create conditions to challenge the undermining of institutions: through pursuing autonomous citizenship practices in a way that has been done since 2015 to support male and female migrants in terms of maintaining the democratization of society within the region. Who will eventually supersede and will be capable of affecting the further and final outcome of the conflict, is by all means uncertain.

Translation: Aleksandar Trapara

Rečnik

Glossary

Rečnik migracija devedesetih sadrži izjave učesnika i učesnica izložbe koje ekspliciraju odabrane pojmove, sintagme i idiome. Takođe, rečnik uključuje i prateće tekstove koji pružaju osnovne informacije o širem kontekstu na koji referiraju umetnički radovi i aktivističke inicijative, a koji su takođe bili dostupni na izložbi.

Autorke pratećih tekstova: Ana Panić, Mira Luković, Simona Ognjanović

Recenzenti pratećih tekstova: Dubravka Stojanović, Igor Štiks, Vladimir Ivanović, Vladimir Petrović

The Glossary of Migrations of the Nineties includes participants' statements explicating select phenomena, syntagms and idioms. Also, the glossary includes accompanying texts that offer basic information on the wider context to which the artworks and activists' initiatives refer and which were also made available in the exhibition.

Authors of accompanying texts: Ana Panić, Mira Luković, Simona Ognjanović

Accompanying texts' reviews: Dubravka Stojanović, Igor Štiks, Vladimir Ivanović, Vladimir Petrović


focus of the exhibition is on mapping the various forms of engagement through which,
990s, those involved in the fields of art, civil society and activism addressed the prob-
d by these migratory movements to and from Serbia. Besides artistic practices, this in-
icular civil society activist initiatives and organizations that realized collaborations with
ry artists. The exhibition also introduces a documentary narrative line, which can be
gh a selection of individual laws, political agreements and other documents in order to
n the broader context in which dominant terms that are most commonly used by the
e are produced.
ely in an attempt to temporarily reshape these dominant notions that a migration glos-
ineties materialized. All participants were invited to, in collaboration with the curators,
rm, syntagm or idiom that articulates their position in the most accurate way, as well
statement explaining their choice. The "alternative" glossary offers a tool for reshap-
nplaces that dictate both our thinking and our actions, thus opening the question of the
ctivism, civil society and public institutions in reconstructing the past. Considering that
n as a public space should encourage the confrontation of different voices, this exhibi-
cts opposing positions not for the purpose of neutralizing and pacifying them, but for
t the differences about which there can sometimes be no consensus.


HUMAN
ЧOBEK
ZVUČNA MAPA
MUZEJA 25. MAJ I OKOLINE
—
SOUND MAP OF
THE MAY 25 MUSEUM AND
ITS NEIGHBORHOOD

LICA I STVARI / FACES AND THINGS

1 Dušica Dražić
PREDMET // SUBJECT/OBJECT

2 Vladimir Radojičić
TUĐINI / ALIENS

3 *Kiosk* – platforma za savremenu umetnost / *Kiosk* – Platform for Contemporary Art
INVENTAR / INVENTORY

4 Balint Sombati / Bálint Szombathy
KOFER / SUITCASE

5 Aleksandrija Ajduković
ADRESA / ADDRESS

REŽIM (NE)KRETANJA / REGIMES OF (NON) MOVEMENT

6 Goranka Matić
IZBRISANI / THE ERASED

7 Tanja Ostojić
ZAKON / LAW

8 asocijacija APSOLUTNO / association APSOLUTNO
ČOVEK / HUMAN

REŽIMI STANOVANJA / HOUSING REGIMES

9 Združena akcija *Krov nad glavom* / Joint Action *The Roof Over Our Heads*
BESPRAVNA NUŽNOST // USTANAK / ILLEGAL NECESSITY // UPRISING

10 Rena Redle (Rena Rädle) & Vladan Jeremić
SIGURNA ZEMLJA / SAFE COUNTRY

11 Milorad Mladenović
PLAN / PLAN

ODLUKE I PRISILE / DECISIONS AND COERCION

12 škart
HRABROST I/ILI KUKAVIČLUK / COURAGE AND/OR COWARDICE

13 Goranka Matić
PRIJATELJI / FRIENDS

SUSRETI // MREŽE SOLIDARNOSTI / ENCOUNTERS // NETWORKS OF SOLIDARITY

14 škart + Žene u crnom (Women in Black) + Vesna Pavlović
DOSTOJANSTVO // SOLIDARNOST // INTERNACIONALIZAM
/ DIGNITY // SOLIDARITY // INTERNATIONALISM

15 Ana Miljanić, Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju / Center for Cultural Decontamination
ŽUDNJA ZA ŽIVOTOM / LUST FOR LIFE

16 Grupa 484 / Group 484
RUKE / HANDS

17 Kolektiv *Migrative Art* / Collective *Migrative Art*
SLOBODNA PRIVREMENA TERITORIJA / FREE TEMPORARY TERRITORY

18 Dejan Dimitrijević + Nebojša Šerić Shoba
MESTO / PLACE

19 Ivana Momčilović + Loran Vanson (Lorent Wanson) + škart
RUPE / HOLES

20 Jusuf Hadžifejzović
NELAGODNOST / DISCOMFORT

21 škart
TUGE / SADNESSES

NARODI I TERITORIJE / NATIONS AND TERRITORIES

22 Udruženje *Kardan* (*Kardan* Association) – Jelena Grujić Zindović
ČIŠĆENJE / CLEANSING

23 Udruženje *Kardan* (*Kardan* Association) – Jelena Grujić Zindović
DRUGI / OTHERS

24 Vojvođanski građanski centar / Vojvodina Civic Centre
KUĆA ILI DOM / HOUSE OR HOME

25 Milena Maksimović
KARTA U JEDNOM PRAVCU / ONE-WAY TICKET

26 Vahida Ramujkić
JUGOSLOVENSTVO / YUGOSLAVISM

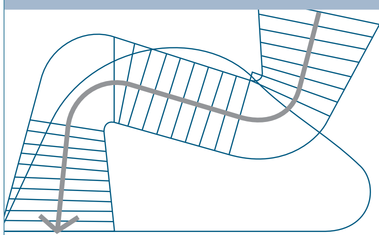
27 Čedomir Vasić
KOMPJUTERSKO ČIŠĆENJE / UZALUDNA NADA
/ COMPUTER CLEANSING / VAIN HOPE

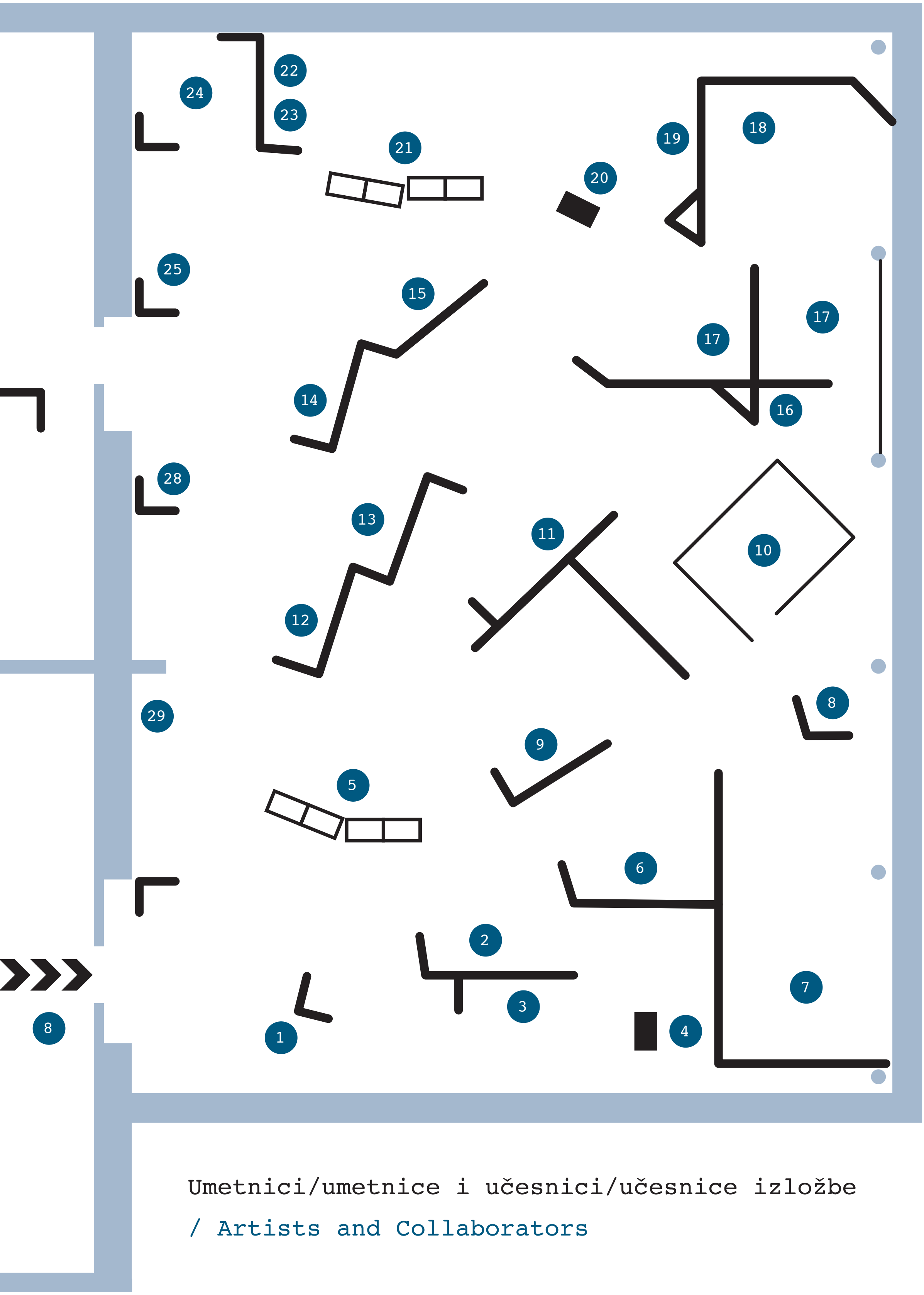
28 Vahida Ramujkić + Dionis Eskorsa (Dionis Escorsa)
ZEMLJA / TERITORIJA // COUNTRY / TERRITORY

29 Nikola Radić Lucati
TRANSFER / TRANSFER

26

27





Umetnici/umetnice i učesnici/učesnice izložbe

/ Artists and Collaborators

PREDMET

SUBJECT/OBJECT

Dušica Dražić
PREDMET*

*
Predmet: Stvar
Predmet: Objekat
Predmet: Slučaj
Predmet pažnje
Nastavni predmet

Pre sedamnaest godina čula sam na ulici Amsterdama uličnog svirača. Svirao je na harmonici dalmatinsku pesmu koja mi se urezala u sećanje još tokom detinjstva provedenog u Orebiću. I danas se sećam kako je izgledao, duga smeđa kosa vezana u rep i mornarska majica. Sedeo je na pločniku, blago se smešio svirajući. Mislim da se zvao Nenad, ali ni u to više nisam sigurna.

Nenad je bio moj prvi kontakt s ljudima izbeglim iz Jugoslavije ranih devedestih jer nisu hteli da budu saučesnici u ratu. Pričali su mi o odlascima, usamljenosti, uslovima rada i života. I nakon deset godina i mnogih selidbi, svako od njih je čuvao bar jedan predmet koji je poneo sa sobom kada je napuštao Jugoslaviju ili bežao iz nje. A ja sam ih dokumentovala.

Sasvim slučajno, pre desetak godina, vozeći se u minibusu od Budimpešte do Beograda, u vreme kada je Budimpešta bila najbliži grad s jeftinim letovima, kroz neobavezan razgovor sa saputnicom o njenom odlasku iz zemlje ranih devedestih i teškim uslovima života u Amsterdamu tokom prvih godina, saznala sam da je poznavala Nenada i da je preminuo posle duge i teške bolesti.

I kako opisati rad koji sam realizovala pre sedamnaest godina, rad koji se bavio uspomenama, a u međuvremenu je i sam postao memorabilija? U katalogu izložbe iz 2003. godine napisala sam: „Ovi predmeti su izgubili svoje originalno značenje i namenu. Uzdignuti su na nivo simbola prošlosti, i uspostavljaju vezu sa njom."

Napomena:

Rad je realizovan 2002. godine u okviru projekta „Civili u uniformi", tokom razmene studenata fotografije tri fakulteta: Post-St. Joost Photography, Univerzitet profesionalne edukacije iz Brede, Fakultet primenjenih umetnosti, Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu i Privatni univerzitet „Braća Karić" u Beogradu.

Dušica Dražić
SUBJECT/OBJECT*

*
Object: Thing
Object: Object
Object: Case
(Object)/Subject of Attention
(School) Subject

Seventeen years ago I heard a busker on the streets of Amsterdam. He was playing a Dalmatian tune on the harmonica; a song which had left an imprint on my memory from my childhood spent in Orebić. To this day I remember how he looked: long brown hair tied in a pony-tail and a sailor T-shirt. He was sitting on the sidewalk, smiling gently and playing. I think his name was Nenad; however, I'm not so sure any more.

Nenad was my first acquaintance with people who had fled Yugoslavia in the early 1990s because they did not want to be complicit in the war. They talked to me about leaving, loneliness, work conditions and life. Even after ten years and many moves, most of them had safeguarded at least one object that they had taken with them upon leaving or fleeing Yugoslavia. And, I documented them.

By chance, some ten years ago, travelling in a mini-bus from Budapest to Belgrade – at a time when Budapest was the closest city with cheep flights – in a casual conversation with a fellow traveler about her departure from the country in the early nineteen nineties and the difficulties of life in Amsterdam in her first years there, I found out that she knew Nenad and that he had passed away after a long illness.

How then to describe a work I made seventeen years ago; one that dealt with memories and which had itself become a memorabilia in the meantime? In the catalogue of the 2003 exhibition I wrote: *These objects have lost their original meaning and usage. They have progressed to the level of a symbol of the past, with which they communicate.*

Note:

The work was created in 2002 as part of the project *Civilians in Uniform,* which was based on the exchange of photography students between three universities: Post-St. Joost Photography – University of Professional Education in Breda, the Faculty of Applied Arts – the University of Art in Belgrade and the "Braća Karić" Private University.

Dušica Dražić
Kofer_001
Kofer_002
Kofer_004
Kofer_006
Kofer_007
Kofer_008
štampa na foto-papiru
2002.

Dušica Dražić
Suitcase_001
Suitcase_002
Suitcase_004
Suitcase_006
Suitcase_007
Suitcase_008
photographic printing
2002








H. W. JANSON
ISTORIJA
UMETNOSTI





TUĐINI

ALIENS

Vladimir Radojičić

TUĐINI

kolektivna / u / etičkih / da / ako / nije / traži / posledica / ruku / sebi / postaje / svog / gubljenja / i / doveden / bar / pre / skupine / ide / okviru / mu / ništa / ne / nije / svoj / slobodnozidarske / projekta / filozofskih / svega / posledica / paranoja / individuu / sprečava / što / zato / kao / je / zadatak / izrazi / ga / tzv / ona / straha / od / pripadnik / individuu / paranoja / ljubav / pojedinačna / nacije / entiteta / on / na / iznad / tome / opstanak / stimuliše / važnosti / nacionalizam / do / a / prestiž / ili / jedne / projekt / paranoja / do / svetinja / je / prema / Lola / ne / cilj / i / folklornih / da / i / izvan / individualne / književnih / kolektivna / izgled / epohalne / i / društvenog / ne / što / na / paroksizma / mu / zbir / nacija / dođe / paranoja / drugo / nacionalnih / entitet / probleme / daje / tradicije / i / i / izvan / kao / će / identiteta / postavlja / individualnih / reći / kao / ga / društveni / da / koja / ili / pojedinac / tako / za / primoran / društvene / zavisti / te / u / itd / je / ili / svega / taj / stanju / kolektivna / i / paranoja / očuvanje / strukture / svesti / on / se…

Vladimir Radojičić

ALIENS

individual / so-called / individual / loss / a / – / and / because / words / importance / this / problems / order / not / nations / him / his / or / of / paranoia / obliged / does / individual / and / of / to / of / envy / ethical / paranoia / the / thus / in / structure / nationalism / as / not / not / an / a / tradition / in / able / pitch / he / social / foremost / sacrosanct / social / paranoias / the / an / Lola / which / framework / the / it / accumulation / preservation / prestige / pose / literary / as / an / and / and / as / for / most / search / individual / paranoia / not / himself / nation / a / outside / epochal / this / collective / first / love / results / entity / the / to / goals / the / congenial / the / therefore / of / at / own / member / values / and / identity / does / philosophical / him / of / objectives / group / of / stimulate / is / a / he / consciousness/ folkloric / simply / from / from / and / is / and / collective / becomes / of / outside / of / an / is / question / seems / in / is / to / to / survival / allow / individual / all / nation's / order / the / is / express / the / other / assume / entity / paranoia / paroxysm / and / if / pseudo-masonic / of / fear / collective / its / and / of...

Vladimir Radojičić

ID # 1–12

polaroid fotografije

1991.

Nakon što je 1991. napustio Jugoslaviju kako ne bi učestvovao u nasilnim procesima njenog razaranja, fotograf Vladimir Radojičić započinje rad na seriji auto-portreta pod nazivom ID (Looking For/At Identity). Već 1992. kreće da razvija novu seriju polaroida Aliens na kojima beleži portrete drugih imigranata iz jugoslovenskih republika, koji su se, poput njega, doselili u Njujork tokom ratnih godina.

Vladimir Radojičić

ID # 1–12

polaroid photos

1991

Having left Yugoslavia in 1991, not wishing to participate in the violent process of the country's destruction, photographer Vladimir Radojičić started working on a series of self-portraits entitled ID (Looking For/At Identity). Already in 1992 he started to develop Aliens, a new Polaroid series in which he recorded the portraits of other immigrants from Yugoslav republics, who, like him, had moved to New York during the war years.














INVENTAR

INVENTORY

Kiosk – platforma za savremenu umetnost
INVENTAR

Devedesete godine u Srbiji obeležene su permanentim političkim i ekonomskim krizama. Ratovi na prostoru nekadašnje zajedničke države u kojima Srbija nije zvanično učestvovala, iako je igrala možda i presudnu ulogu, inflacija, sankcije, građanski protesti, masovni odlasci, nemiri, činili su svakodnevicu miliona građana Srbije. Ipak, i pored ogromnog uticaja koji poslednja decenija dvadesetog veka i danas ima na građane Srbije, ovaj period ostaje nedovoljno obrađen i jasno pozicioniran, i to kako na državnom, tako i na ličnom nivou. Istorija se stalno piše iz početka, svaka nova vlada donosi svoja tumačenja i svoju istinu o ovom periodu. Kolektivnim sećanjem se i dalje manipuliše u korist dnevne politike, dok se ličnim iskustvima i sećanjima građana koji su bili svedoci ovog perioda ne pridaje gotovo nikakva kritička pažnja. **Muzej objekata** nastao je kao inicijativa sakupljanja, čuvanja i prikazivanja ličnih sećanja građana Srbije na ovaj period naše nedavne prošlosti. Kolekcija **Muzeja** otvara pitanja šta nam se to dogodilo devedesetih, šta nam je u to vreme bilo bitno, šta nam je bitno danas, kada o tom razdoblju svoje prošlosti razmišljamo, kako se prema toj prošlosti odnosimo, da li smo iz događanja devedesetih nešto naučili, šta nam taj, za mnoge traumatičan, period govori o našoj današnjici.

Muzej objekata nastao je 2011. godine kao zajednička inicijativa Fonda Biljana Kovačević Vučo i Platforme za savremenu umetnost *Kiosk* (autori koncepta: Džejms Mej, Milica Pekić, Ana Adamović), i od tada je **Muzeju** donirano preko 160 objekata, dok se kolekcija kontinuirano uvećava donacijama građana. Od 2017. godine ovaj muzej u nastajanju deo je kolekcije Muzeja Jugoslavije.

Kiosk – Platform for Contemporary Art
INVENTORY

The nineties in Serbia were marked by continuous political and economic crises. Wars on the territory of the former common state – in which Serbia did not formally participate – even though they played a crucial, maybe even detrimental role, inflation, sanctions, civilian protest, mass emigration, unrest, created the quotidian for millions of citizens in Serbia. Yet, despite the enormous impact of the last decade of the twentieth century on the citizens of Serbia, this period has yet to be clearly defined and thoroughly analyzed, at both state and personal level. History is constantly being re-written; each new government brings its own interpretation and truth about this period. Collective memories are still being manipulated with in favor of daily politics, while almost no critical attention is given to the personal experiences and memories of citizens who were witnesses of this period. The Museum of Objects came into being as an initiative to collect, preserve and present personal memories of the citizens of Serbia, relating to this period of our recent past. This museum's collection opens numerous questions: what happened to us during the nineties, what mattered to us at the time, what matters to us today when we look back at that period of our past, how do we relate to that past, have we learnt something from what happened in the nineties, what does this, for many traumatic period, say about our present.

The Museum of Objects was installed in 2011 as a joint initiative of the "Biljana Kovačević Vučo" Foundation and the Platform for Contemporary Art – *Kiosk* (conceptualized by: James May, Milica Pekić, Ana Adamović), and since then the museum has received donations of over more than 160 objects, while the collection continues to be enlarged through donations made by citizens. Since 2017, this museum in the making is part of the Museum of Yugoslavia's collections.

Donator: Danijela Rupić / 1989 / Zagreb /
Mesto stanovanja donatora tokom 90-ih:
Zagreb – Beograd – Odžaci – Bački Brestovac – Užice
Naziv doniranog objekta: Kiki bombone
Poreklo doniranog objekta: Kragujevac

Donor: Danijela Rupić / 1989 / Zagreb /
The donor's place of residence in the 1990s:
Zagreb – Belgrade – Odžaci – Bački Brestovac – Užice
Name of the donated object: "Kiki" candies
Origin of the donated object: Kragujevac



Donator: Vera Pullen / 1978 / Novi Sad /
Mesto stanovanja donatora tokom 90-ih: Beograd
Naziv doniranog objekta: Pasoš „Savezne Republike jugoslavije"
Poreklo doniranog objekta: Beograd
Godina iz koje potiče objekat: 2001

Donor: Vera Pullen / 1978 / Novi Sad /
The donor's place of residence in the 1990s: Belgrade
Name of the donated object: Passport of the
"Federal Republic of Yugoslavia"
Origin of the donated object: Belgrade
The year of the object: 2001



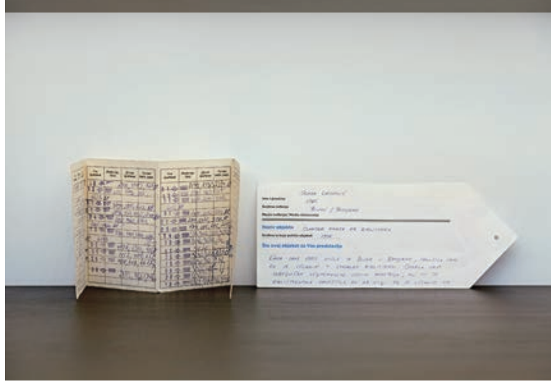
Donator: Dejan Kožul / 1974 / Rijeka /
Mesto stanovanja donatora tokom 90-ih: Beograd
Naziv doniranog objekta: Izbeglička legitimacija
Poreklo doniranog objekta: Beograd
Godina iz koje potiče objekat: 1993

Donor: Dejan Kožul / 1974 / Rijeka /
The donor's place of residence in the 1990s: Belgrade
Name of the donated object: Refugee ID documents
Origin of the donated object: Belgrade
The year of the object: 1993



Donator: Senka Latinović / 1985 / Bihać /
Mesto stanovanja donatora tokom 90-ih: Bosna i Hercegovina
Naziv doniranog objekta: Članska karta za biblioteku
Poreklo doniranog objekta: Beograd

Donor: Senka Latinović / 1985 / Bihać /
The donor's place of residence in the 1990s:
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Name of the donated object: Library membership card
Origin of the donated object: Belgrade




za savremenu umetnost
for Contemporary Art

KOFER

SUITCASE

Balint Sombati

KOFER

Etimologija: *Koffer* (nemački), *coffre* (francuski), *cofre* (starofrancuski), *cophinus* (latinski), *kóphinos* (starogrčki).

Marcel Duchamp: *Boîte-en-valise [Kutija u koferu]*, 1935–41 // Bijelo dugme: *Selma*, 1974 [Selma... putuje na fakultet. Ona putuje, ja kofer nosim, molim.] // Đorđe Balašević: *Provincijalka*, 1993 [Rekli su mi da je došla iz provincije, strpavši u kofer snove i ambicije.] // *De valigia in Yugoslavia*, železničke stanice u Novom Sadu, Beogradu i Nišu, 1997 // Dragan Ve Ignjatović: *Micićev kofer*, dokumentarni film, 2011 // Vladimir Ivanović: *Brain drain bez kofera: jugoslovenske izbeglice u Austriji tokom 90-ih godina*, Historiografija, zbornik, Zagreb, 2018.

Bálint Szombathy

SUITCASE

Etymology: *Koffer* (German), *coffre* (French), *cofre* (Old French), *cophinus* (Latin), *kóphinos* (Ancient Greek).

Marcel Duchamp: *Boîte-en-valise* [Box in a suitcase], 1935–41 // *Bijelo Dugme*: *Selma*, 1974 [Selma… is traveling to university. She is travelling, I am carrying her suitcase.] // Đorđe-Balašević: *Provincijalka* [Provincial Girl], 1993 [They told me she was provincial, having stuffed her dreams and ambitions in a suitcase.] // *De valigia in Yugoslavia* [The railway stations in Novi Sad, Belgrade and Niš], 1997 // Dragan VeIgnjatović: *Micićev kofer* [Micić's Suitcase], documentary film, 2011 // Vladimir Ivanović: *Brain Drain Without A Suitcase: Yugoslav Refugees In Austria During The 1990s*, *Historiografija*, anthology, Zagreb, 2018

Balint Sombati

Kofer br. 2

objekat, kombinovana tehnika, unikat

60 x 50 x 20 cm

2019.

Bálint Szombathy

Suitcase no. 2

object, combined technique, unique

60 x 50 x 20 cm

2019


EPAL

ADRESA

ADDRESS

Aleksandrija Ajduković
ADRESA

Kada se Jugoslavija definitivno raspadala i na kraju i raspala, ja sam kao i većina mojih ljudi bila u stanju kulturnog šoka, a doživela sam i neposredno izbegličko iskustvo, koje me obeležava i dan-danas. Tada je bilo teško pojmiti bratoubilački rat nakon godina i godina bratskojedinstvene indoktrinacije, a danas se opet postavljanjem modifikovanog tenka T-55 maskirne boje ispred stadiona „Crvene zvezde" opet lako prisetiti trideset treće. Kulturni šok je trebalo definisati, fotografisati i rašomonski sagledati iz ugla turiste, izbeglice ili nekoga ko sakuplja suvenire-majice s destinacija na kojima boravi. Tada je pitanje na granici koje postavljaju carinici „Business or pleasure?" izostajalo, a danas, u svetlu nove migrantske krize, otvara nova pitanja koja se tiču isplativosti ratova, izbegličkog biznisa i slično. Svi ovi ljudi koje sam fotografisala su izbeglice iz Jugoslavije, izbegli zbog rata i neposredne životne ugroženosti, a tada su živeli na teritoriji Holandije u Amsterdamu. Poziraju u majicama s natpisima mesta iz kojih su izbegli i u kojima su živeli.

Napomena:

Rad je realizovan 2002. godine u okviru projekta „Civili u uniformi", tokom razmene studenata fotografije tri fakulteta: Post-St. Joost Photography, Univerzitet profesionalne edukacije iz Brede, Fakultet primenjenih umetnosti, Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu i privatni Univerzitet „Braća Karić" u Beogradu.

Aleksandrija Ajduković
ADDRESS

At a time when Yugoslavia was definitely falling apart, and with its dissolution, like most of the people around me, I found myself in a state of shock. Also, I experienced being a refugee firsthand – something that marks me to this day. It was extremely difficult to understand the fratricide after year upon year of 'brotherhood and unity' indoctrination. In the present moment, again, with the placement of the camouflage model tank T55 in front of the Red Star football stadium, it is easy to remember 1933. The cultural shock had to be defined, photographed and observed from the Rashomonic angle of a tourist, refugee or souvenir T-shirt collector who visits different destinations. The question posed on the border at the time – business or pleasure? – went amiss, while today, in the light of the new migrant crisis, a new question unfolds concerning the feasibility of wars, refugee business and the like. All these people that I photographed are from the former Yugoslavia living in Holland, Amsterdam, at the time, who had become refugees due to the war or imminent danger posed on their lives.

Note:

The work was created in 2002 as part of the project *Civilians in Uniform,* which was based on the exchange of photography students between three universities: Post-St. Joost Photography – University of Professional Education in Breda, the Faculty of Applied Arts – the University of Art in Belgrade and the "Braća Karić" Private University.

Aleksandrija Ajduković
Pienemanstrat
Hakfort (Bijlmermeer)
Oude Leilestraat
Oude Leilestraat
Pienemanstrat
štampa na ciradi
170 x 110 cm
2002.

Aleksandrija Ajduković
Pienemanstrat
Hakfort (Bijlmermeer)
Oude Leilestraat
Oude Leilestraat
Pienemanstrat
tarpaulin print
170 x 110 cm
2002




Sarajevo
Osijek
Zagreb

IZBRISANI

THE ERASED

Goranka Matić
IZBRISANI

U junu 1991. na železnickoj stanici u Beogradu nisam bila svesna da slikam buduće IZBRISANE iz spiska stanovnika Slovenije. Evidentirali su ih u novi spisak, prvih izbeglica iz Jugoslavije, a da to niko nije znao.

Goranka Matić
THE ERASED

In June 1991, at the railway station in Belgrade, I wasn't even aware that I was taking photographs of those who were to be ERASED from the population of Slovenia. Without anybody knowing, they were registered in a new list – that of the first refugees from the former Yugoslavia.








Goranka Matić
Dolazak porodica vojnih lica iz Slovenije
(Železnička stanica Beograd)
jun 1991.

Goranka Matić
Arrival of military personnel families from Slovenia
(Belgrade Railway Station)
June 1991

ZAKON

LAW

Tanja Ostojić
ZAKON

Reč je o veoma složenom petogodišnjem umetničkom projektu koji su činile različite faze rada u kojima sam razmenila na stotine imejlova, kao i više pisama, s ljudima širom sveta. U jednom trenutku sam odlučila da je sledeći korak u razvoju projekta – brak. Na organski način, rad se razvijao od net-arta, preko performansa, do prostora zakona – uključujući formalno venčanje i razvod braka – i na kraju, do arhivske umetničke instalacije. Nameće se činjenica da je u praksi primenjivanje zakona veoma proizvoljno, te da je važno da razmatramo ko ga piše i kome on služi. Stoga ne možemo da uzimamo zakone zdravo za gotovo. Poštovanje zakona je veoma važno, međutim, jednako je važno preispitivati ih, a ovim projektom posebno sam se pozabavila pitanjem etičkih aspekata imigracionih zakona Evropske unije. Razmatrala sam aspekte na koje se zakon ukršta s mojim van-EU poreklom i s mojom rodnom pripadnošću. Kao i u mnogim kasnijim radovima, i ovde sam posebno uronila u izloženost položaja žene u kontekstu migracije. Pitanje da li se brak u praksi primenjuje, posebno u slučaju partnera od kojih je jedan iz EU, a drugi nije, bilo je od ključnog interesa za vlasti. Da budem iskrena, radilo se o veoma kompleksnoj i delikatnoj situaciji, te smo morali da budemo oprezni u vezi s nekoliko pravnih aspekata bračnog života. Ovaj rad je kritičan prema bio-politikama Šengena koje me već decenijama ostavljaju sa osećanjem izrazite eksponiranosti, ranjivosti i diskriminisanosti, u situacijama u kojima se moj privatni život obelodanjuje mimo moje volje.

Tanja Ostojić
LAW

This was a very complex five-year-long project, which consisted of different stages in which I exchanged hundreds of e-mails and several physical letters as well, with people from around the globe. Eventually, I reached the point where I thought that the next step in the project's development would, indeed, be marriage. The work organically progressed from net art, via live performance, to law — including a legal marriage and divorce — and finally, an archival art installation. Law is actually very arbitrary, therefor we need to look at who has written it and whom it serves. We cannot take law for granted. Obeying the law is very important, however, it is equally important to question it, and with this project, I especially questioned the ethical aspects of EU immigration laws. I looked into the ways it, in effect, intersects with my non-EU origin and with my gender. In particular, as in many of my later works, I delved into the fragility of the female condition in the context of migration. The issue of whether the marriage has been implemented or not, in the case of EU and non-EU partners, is what the authorities are most curious about. It was a very complex and delicate situation, to be honest, and we needed to be precocious about several legal aspects of married life. The work is critical of Schengen Agreement bio-politics, which have, for decades, left me feeling extremely exposed, vulnerable and discriminated against, because of the discomfort that arose at having my private life exposed against my will.



Tanja Ostojić

Tražim muža sa pasošem Evropske unije

Participativni net-art projekat/instalacija proširenih medija

2000–2005.

Instalacija:

Integration Impossible?: The Politics of Migration in the Artwork of Tanja Ostojić, Kunstpavillon Inzbruk, Austrija

Foto: Rupert Larl

Autorska prava/ljubaznošću: T. Ostojić

Tanja Ostojić

Looking for a Husband with EU Passport

Participatory web project/combined media installation

2000–05

Installation view:

Integration Impossible?: The Politics of Migration in the Artwork of Tanja Ostojić, Kunstpavillon Innsbruck, Austria

Photo: Rupert Larl

Copyright/courtesy of: T. Ostojić


"Yes...!"
AUFENTHALTSTITEL

ČOVEK

HUMAN

asocijacija APSOLUTNO
ČOVEK

Osnovu projekta HUMAN:ČOVEK činilo je markiranje granične linije koja je delila Evropu na Istok i Zapad. U višegodišnjoj akciji, asocijacija APSOLUTNO je markirala ovu geopolitičku liniju razdvajanja postavljanjem saobraćajnog znaka s natpisom ČOVEK na „ničijoj zemlji" između graničnih prelaza zemalja koje se nalaze duž te linije, koristeći zvanične jezike tih zemalja za natpis na znakovima. U skladu s tadašnjim modusom rodne reprezentacije, u saobraćajnoj signalizaciji u projektu korišćen je isključivo muški rod u prevodima na nacionalne jezike graničnih zemalja.

Tokom realizacije projekta HUMAN:ČOVEK, Asocijacija APSOLUTNO realizovala je i projekat *The Absolute Sale* 1997. godine, on-line aukciju umetnika iz istočne Evrope, koji će se roditi 1. januara 2001. godine. Ova „rasprodaja" tada još nerođenih umetnika je ironični kontrapunkt tehnološki olakšane i ubrzane komunikacije kroz razvoj tehnologija i interneta, s jedne, i nadzora fizičkih prelaza na međudržavnim granicama, s druge strane.

Danas bi ovi umetnici i umetnice stupili u punoletstvo i imali bi pravo glasa. Oni su odrastali u novom milenijumu, u novoj Evropi, u seriji događaja koji su dramatično uticali na nov globalni ekonomski i geopolitički kontekst. Iako su fizičke granice označene u projektu HUMAN:ČOVEK promenile karakter poslednjih dvadeset godina, religijska, rasna, rodna i ekonomska segregacija čini osnovna pitanja ovog projekta i dalje aktuelnim. Danas, kada je sputana osnovna vrednost ontološke zasnovanosti života, u kontekstu krize parlamentarnih demokratija, tehnologija i medija u ulozi kontrole javnih prostora, pregrupisavanja kapitala i raspodela prirodnih resursa planete, nužno je iznova propitati društva i zajednice u kojima živimo i mesta za razumevanje, altruizam, empatiju, humanizam, solidarnost.

ČOVEK je, više nego ikad, i dalje osnovna jedinica koja rezonuje. Prvobitna intervencija Asocijacije APSOLUTNO pre dvadeset godina imala je u fokusu režime vrednovanja ljudskih bića i slobode kretanja, u kontekstu internacionalnih sankcija prema građanima Srbije i tadašnjeg geopolitičkog poretka u Evropi. Ali u današnjem kontekstu, u kom dominiraju novi i kompleksniji oblici sankcija, kontrole i medijske manipulacije, čovek je i dalje upućen na čoveka da utvrdi svoj vlastiti društveni položaj i nove poglede na situacije u stalnom propitivanju sopstvene snage za društveni angažman.

association APSOLUTNO
HUMAN

Marking the borderline which divides Europe into East and West forms the basis of the project HUMAN:ČOVEK. In this action, the association APSOLUTNO marked this dividing geopolitical line by placing traffic signs with the inscription "HUMAN:ČOVEK" on the no-man's-land between the borders of the countries along the line, using their official languages for the signs. In line with the prevailing mode of gender representation in traffic signs at the time, only male terms in the languages of the bordering countries were used.

While the project HUMAN:ČOVEK was still ongoing, in 1997 the APSOLUTNO association also conducted *The Absolute Sale* project – an online auction of artists from Eastern Europe who were to be born on 1 January 2001. This "sale" of yet-to-be-born artists is an ironical counterpoint of technologically facilitated and accelerated communication, mitigated by technological development and the Internet on the one hand, and the surveillance of physical inter-state borders, on the other.

Today, these artists would have come of age and had the right to vote. They have grown up in the new millennium, in a new Europe, over the course of a series of events which dramatically influenced the new global economic and geopolitical context. Although the actual physical borders marked by the HUMAN:ČOVEK project have changed in the last twenty years, the religious, racial, gender and economic segregation issues of this project make them current. Today, when the basic ontological value of the fundaments of human life are brought into question – in the context of the crisis of parliamentary democracy, technologies and the media playing the role of public space regulator and re-distributor of capital and the planet's natural resources – it is important to reflect again on the society and communities we inhabit, and the [possibility of] leeway for understanding, altruism, empathy, humanism and solidarity.

More than ever, HUMAN is still a resonating component. The initial intervention of the association APSOLUTNO twenty years ago, focused on the regimes of evaluating human beings and the freedom of movement in the context of international sanctions imposed upon the citizens of Serbia, as well as the geopolitical order in Europe at the time. However, in the present context in which new and more complex forms of sanction, control and media manipulation dominate, humans still turn to each other in order to determine their own social position and new considerations of situations, in a perpetual scrutinization of one's own powers for social engagement.


HUMAN

asocijacija APSOLUTNO
Nevidljive granice, Armin (18)
Linija razgraničenja između Istočnog i Zapadnog Mostara
Bosna i Hercegovina, 1996.

association APSOLUTNO
The Invisible Borders, Armin (18)
Division line between East and West Mostar
Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1996



asocijacija APSOLUTNO
HUMAN:ČOVEK
Domino, drvena kutija, dimenzije: 29 x 11 x 6 cm;
Domino (svaka pločica), dimenzije: 8 x 4 x 1 cm.
sitoštampa 1/0, 100 boxes (26 domina u svakoj kutiji)
1997.

association APSOLUTNO
HUMAN:ČOVEK
Domino, wooden box, dimensions: 29x11x6cm;
Domino (each piece), dimensions: 8x4x1cm.
silkscreen print 1/0, 100 boxes (26 dominos in a box)
1997

BESPRAVNA NUŽNOST // USTANAK

ILLEGAL NECESSITY // UPRISING

Združena akcija *Krov nad glavom*
BESPRAVNA NUŽNOST // USTANAK

BESPRAVNA NUŽNOST

U Ustaničkoj ulici br. 244g u Beogradu, ukupno u deset stambenih jedinica, stanuju izbeglice i raseljena lica koji su ovaj status stekli pošto su devedesetih godina, usled ratnih zbivanja, trajno napustili prostore Hrvatske, BiH ili Kosova. Pošto su godinama uporno pokušavali da ostvare svoje pravo i da na osnovu administrativnog statusa reše stambeno pitanje preko redovnih konkursa Komesarijata za izbeglice Republike Srbije, odlučuju se na jedan radikalni korak. Useljavalju se u stanove u nadležnosti Komesarijata na pomenutoj adresi, koji su, prema njihovom iskazu, godinama bili prazni, uprkos činjenici da ne samo oni već veliki deo stanovništva sa statusom izbeglice i raseljenog lica nije uspevao trajno da reši svoje stambeno pitanje.

Ti stanovi nisu njihovi, to niko od njih ne spori. Ipak, kako kažu, iako *bespravno*, oni ostaju tu iz čiste *nužde*, prinuđeni da, u nedostatku svake alternative, trpe ne samo teške uslove života, ostajući neretko bez struje u vode, već u prvom redu primorani da žive izloženi stalnim pretnjama i u konstantnom strahu da će biti prisilno iseljeni i ostavljeni da se snalaze na ulici.

USTANAK

Došli su u pola 6 ujutru s namerom da izbace ljude na ulicu. Pedeset policajaca pod punom ratnom opremom opkolilo je zgradu, zabranilo ulaz i izlaz iz Ustaničke 244 g. Svi smo po pozivu stanara izleteli iz kreveta, okretali telefonom svoje saborce i u roku od pola sata je nas četrdeset već bilo blizu mesta zločina. Sakrili smo se 100 m nizbrdo kako bismo isplanirali akciju. Postojalo je prećutno razumevanje među svim prisutnima da ne dozvolimo današnje iseljenje – bili smo spremni na velike rizike. Rešenja za problem s kojim smo se suočili ispostavila su se jednostavnim: diverzija, sloga i oči javnosti.

Desetak starijih, manje pokretnih članova otišlo je sa zadnje strane kako bi skrenuli pažnju policiji. Mlađi su u većem broju krenuli s druge strane gde je bilo manje policije. Protrčali smo pored policajaca koji nisu mogli ni silom da zaustave nalet i zauzeli glavni ulaz. Par ljudi je snimalo ophođenje policije telefonom za društvene mreže i bio je to, ispostaviće se kasnije, jedan od najgledanijih političkih klipova u 2018. godini. Nekoliko nas je bilo zadržano spolja i mi smo se bavili dovlačenjem medija, posebno televizija. Kamera TV N1 prenosila je dramatičnu situaciju u vestima uživo i tada su interesovanje i revolt javnosti eksplodirali. Važna je bila i psihološka borba unutar zgrade: stanari su prevazišli strah i formirali grupu koja se držala zajedno kada je policija vršila pritisak. Nakon osam sati borbe policija se povukla, a Komesarijat za izbeglice je doneo odluku da prestanu prisilna iseljenja – do daljnjeg.

Tog dana, 24. jula 2018, odlučno smo se suprotstavili užasnoj nepravdi – progonu već prognanih ljudi od strane države u koju su došli da traže slobodu i sigurnost. Da nije bilo ustanka u Ustaničkoj, danas bi u Beogradu još trideset samohranih majki, bolesnih penzionera, ratnih veterana i vojnih invalida živelo od kontejnera.

Joint Action *The Roof Over Our Heads*
ILLEGAL NECESSITY // UPRISING

ILLEGAL NECESSITY

Ustanička Street No. 244g in Belgrade, with a total of ten housing units, is home to refugees and displaced persons who have acquired this status having permanently left the territories of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, as a result of the war. For decades they have been persistently trying to exercise their right and, on the basis of their administrative status, resolve their housing issue through regular programs of the Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia. At one point, they took one radical step further. They moved into the apartments (in Ustanička Street No. 244g) under the jurisdiction of the Commissariat, which had, according to their testimony, been empty for years, despite the fact that not only them, but a large part of the population with the status of refugee or displaced person, have not been able to permanently settle their housing problem. These apartments are not theirs, and none of them dispute that. However, as they claim, although illegally, they remain there purely out of necessity, forced to (owing to lack of other alternatives), not only bear difficult living conditions, often without electricity and water, but primarily be forced to live under constant threats and in perpetual fear that they will be forcibly evicted and left to find their own way on the streets.

UPRISING

They came at 5:30 in the morning with the intention to throw the people out onto the street. Fifty policemen, fully equipped, surrounded the building, banning entry to and exit from 244g Ustanička Street. At the invitation of the tenants, we all jumped out of bed, started calling our comrades by phone and within half an hour, forty of us were already close to the crime scene. We hid 100 m downhill to plan the action. There was a tacit understanding among all present that we would not allow today's eviction – we were prepared for great risks. The solutions to the problem we faced turned out to be simple: diversion, unity, and the public eye.

A dozen older, less mobile members went round the back to divert the attention of the police. The younger ones mostly moved on the other side where there were less police. We ran past the policemen who could not even stop the raid by force and took the main entrance. A couple of people were filming the police with their smartphones for social network posting and, as it turned out, one of them became the most viewed political clip of 2018. Several among us remained outside and we were engaged in luring the media, especially television. N1 TV's camera broadcast the drama on live news, and this is when the interest and revolt of the public exploded. The psychological struggle within the building was also important: the tenants were no longer afraid, and they formed a group which stuck together under the pressure of the police. After eight hours of struggle the police withdrew and the Commissariat for Refugees reached the decision to stop the forced evictions until further notice.

On that day, July 24, 2018, we resolutely opposed a terrible injustice – the persecution of already exiled people by the state to which they came seeking freedom and security. If it had not been for the "Ustanička Uprising", another thirty single mothers, sick retirees, war veterans and military invalids would be living off of Belgrade's trash cans.



Odbrane stanara i stanarki Ustaničke 244g

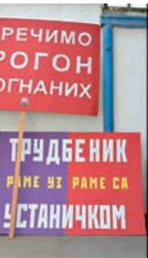
uz podršku Združene akcije *Krov nad glavom*, Kolektivne odbrane stanara i solidarnih građana i građanki, jul 2018. i septembar 2019.

Ljubaznošću ZA *Krov nad glavom*, Insajder produkcija

Defense of the tenants of Ustanička Street No. 244g

supported by The Joint Action *The Roof Over Our Heads*, Collective Defense of the Tenants and solidary citizens, July 2018 and September 2019.

Courtesy of JA *The Roof Over Our Heads*, Insajder Production


ТРУДБЕНИК
РАМЕ УЗ РАМЕ СА
УСТАНИЧКОМ

НЕ ДАМО!!
КРОВ НАД ГЛАВОМ
СПРЕЧИМО ПРОГОН ПРОГНАНИХ



КРОВ НАД ГЛАВОМ

ПОЛИЦИЈА

SIGURNA ZEMLJA

SAFE COUNTRY

Rena Redle & Vladan Jeremić
SIGURNA ZEMLJA

Beogradske vlasti su pred *Univerzijadu* 2009. godine sprovele rušenja romskih izbegličkih naselja *Gazela* i *Belvil*. Dalja deportacija ovih ljudi u provizorne kontejnere na obodu grada značila je prolongiranje njihovog izbegličkog statusa i nerešenog životnog i stambenog pitanja u kome se nalaze još od devedesetih godina.

Nemačke vlasti su nakon *Sporazuma o readmisiji*, potpisanog 2002. godine sa Srbijom, a koji je preduslov za početak procesa evrointegracija, počele nasilnu i nehumanu deportaciju Roma i Romkinja iz Nemačke na Balkan. Osim toga, vlastima su u Nemačkoj i u drugim zemljama Zapada i dalje stizali zahtevi za azil podneti zbog nerešenih problema u Srbiji, a posebno na Kosovu. Mnogi su i dalje smatrali da su zemlje Evropske unije poput Nemačke, Italije ili Finske sigurne destinacije i zemlje u kojima se može voditi dostojanstven život. Suprotno tome, Nemačke vlasti su stavile Srbiju i Kosovo na spisak sigurnih zemalja, ignorišući realan položaj ovih ljudi, i time faktički onemogućile njihovo pravo na dobijanje azila u Nemačkoj. Kontinuirana praksa deportacija i deložacija predstavlja važan aspekt za razumevanje šire slike migracija ljudi i ovog istraživanja. Normalizacija izbeglištva i prekarne radne migracije se u slučaju Roma vrlo lako aktivira zbog anticiganističkog konsenzusa u celoj Evropi, ali i zbog normalizacije siromaštva čitavih slojeva društva.

*

Rad *The Housing Question/Sigurna zemlja* zasniva se na dugoročnom istraživanju, uvidima i iskustvu autora Rene Redle i Vladana Jeremića. Autori su od 2004. godine bili intenzivno uključeni u umetničke i političke aktivnosti u vezi s teškim položajem romskih izbeglica s Balkana u Nemačkoj, Italiji, Finskoj, u Srbiji i Kosovu. Instalacija *The Housing Question/Sigurna zemlja* predstavlja video-radove, dokumente i publikacije nastale u toku dugogodišnjeg istraživačkog procesa i u saradnji s velikim brojem aktivista koji se bave ovim pitanjima. Pored radova Rene Redle i Vladana Jeremića instalacija sadrži i gostujuće radove fotografa Nihada Nina Pušije i režisera i glumca Saše Barbula.

Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić
SAFE COUNTRY

Belgrade authorities demolished the Roma refugee settlements *Gazela* and *Belvil* in the wake of the 2009 *Universiade* [international students' sports event, t/n]. The further deportation of these people into provisionary container homes on the outskirts of the city meant the prolongation of their refugee status and unresolved living and housing issues, which have been ongoing since the 1990s.

Following the *Readmission Agreement* signed between Germany and Serbia in 2002, which is a prerequisite for starting the process of EU integration, the German government started the forced and inhumane deportation of Roma from Germany to the Balkans. This took place regardless the fact that the authorities in Germany and other countries in the West still continued to receive asylum-seeking applications submitted for reasons of objectively unresolved issues in Serbia, and especially Kosovo. For many applicants, European Union countries such as Germany, Italy or Finland, were safe destinations that offered a dignified life. Nevertheless, German authorities placed Serbia and Kosovo on the list of safe countries, ignoring the real position of these people, and thus, in fact, legally preventing them from seeking asylum in Germany. Ongoing deportation and eviction are an important aspect of the process of seeking to understand the bigger picture of the migration of people, and is the focus of this research. The normalization of the state of exile and precarious labor migration is, in the case of Roma, easily activated because of the historically rooted anti-Gypsy consensus in the whole of Europe, as well due to the normalization of poverty of entire segments of society.

*

The Housing Question/Safe Country is based on long-term research, insights and experiences of its makers Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić. As of 2004, they were intensively involved in artistic and political activities regarding the difficult position of Roma refugees from the Balkans in Germany, Italy, Finland, in Serbia and Kosovo. *The Housing Question/Safe Country* installation presents videos, documents and publications put together over process of years of extensive study and in collaboration with numerous activists dealing with these issues. Besides the works of Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić, the installation includes the works of visiting photographer Nihad Nino Pušija and the film director and actor Saša Barbul.



Rena Redle i Vladan Jeremić
Razgraničenje
zidni crtež
2019.

Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić
The Demarcation
wall drawing
2019





Rena Redle i Vladan Jeremić
Stambeno pitanje / Sigurna zemlja
instalacija (drvena konstrukcija, karton, crteži na tekstilu i papiru, dokumenti, publikacije i video-radovi)
2009–2017.

Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić
The Housing Question / Safe Country
installation (wooden construction, cardboard, textile and paper drawings, documents, publications and video works)
2009–17

PLAN

PLAN

Milorad Mladenović
PLAN

Serija crteža *Bez naziva [Plan]* proizvod je istraživanja stanovanja većeg broja porodica s Kosova i Metohije koje su devedesetih prisiljene na izbeglištvo. S porodicama su obavljeni i snimljeni intervjui u kojima se razgovara o prostorima u kojima su živele i o prostorima u kojima žive danas. Istraživanje se odnosilo na arhitekturu i urbanizam tih prostora.

Većina intervjuisanih nema mogućnost da se vrati u stara boravišta, tako da intervjui beleže arhitektonske i urbanističke detalje iz sećanja korisnika. Pokušao sam da crtežima rekonstruišem planove iz sećanja i da ih predstavim kao apstraktne tehničke beleške o socijalnim i kulturnim aspektima tadašnjeg života.

Da bih Izbegao nekonzistentnu komparaciju sa sadašnjim okolnostima življenja za koje se mogu pronaći realistični planovi, o sadašnjim uslovima stanovanja sam isključivo razgovarao s korisnicima, pokušavajući da ih navedem na emocionalne doživljaje mesta u kojima stanuju. Ovaj proces mi je omogućio da planove kompariram na nivou emocionalnog doživljaja prostora sećanja.

Rad se sastoji od dva niza naspram postavljenih serija crteža, koji se mogu analizirati i tumačiti kroz dve različito doživljene situacije stanovanja. Rad ne pretenduje na kvalifikacije doživljaja prostora, već na njihovo tehničko predstavljanje koje implicira razlike. Nedokazive razmere i prostorni odnosi preuzeti iz sećanja mogu uticati na tumačenja razlika.

U konačnoj realizaciji rada uočava se analitički i apstraktni odnos površina i teritorija izveden crtežima. Na paspartuima crteža date su tekstualne beleške o porodicama, mestima stanovanja, arhitekturi, površinama i rasporedima prostora. Serije crteža prati emisija zvuka nemontiranih intervjua.

Od značaja za rad *[Plan]* je njegovo formalno poistovećivanje s velikim brojem artefakata nastalih devedesetih godina prošlog veka. Mislim na pojave minimalizma i formalizma u umetnosti u Srbiji tog vremena (tehno-spiritualizam, na primer). Bio sam neposredni svedok i akter tih pojava u umetnosti, a rad pretenduje i na ovu vrstu istorijske komparacije.

Milorad Mladenović
PLAN

The *Untitled [Plan]* photo series is the result of research on the housing of a number of families from Kosovo and Metohija who were forced into exile during the 1990s. The families were interviewed about the spaces they used to live in and where they were living today. The research focused on the architecture and urbanism of these spaces.

Most of the people interviewed are not able to return to their old places of residence, so the interviews recorded the architectural and urbanism details from the interviewees' memories. I tried to reconstruct, through drawings, the spatial plans from memory and to present them as abstract technical notes about social and cultural aspects of their life at the time. In order to avoid inconsistent comparisons with present living circumstances, for which there are existing plans, I focused exclusively on talking about the present living circumstances of the residents in an attempt to guide them towards an emotional response to the place of inhabitation. Such a process allowed me to compare the plans on the emotional level of experiencing a space of memory.

The work consists of two opposite rows of drawings which can be analyzed and interpreted through two differently experienced living situations. The work does not aim at qualifying experiences of space, but at their technical representation, which implies difference. Unsubstantiated proportions and spatial ratios taken from memory can influence interpretations of difference.

In the final realization of the work, one can witness an analytical and abstract relationship between the surfaces and the territories which have been drawn. The drawings' mattes include written notes about the families, places of residence, architecture, surfaces and layouts. The drawing series is accompanied by the audio broadcast of unedited interviews.

An important aspect of the work *[Plan]* is its informal identification with a large number of artifacts created in the 1990s. I'm referring here to the occurrence of minimalism and formalism in Serbian art at the time (techno-spiritualism, for instance). I was an immediate witness and participant of these art phenomena and the work also attempts to make this sort of historical comparison.



Milorad Mladenović
Bez naziva [plan]
serija crteža izvedenih olovkom i pastelom na papiru,
beleške na paspartuima i prateća audio-instalacija
U radu su korišćeni intervjui sa
Zoranom Furunovićem, Jelenom Pavličić,
Ester Zajmi Milentijević, Goranom Stojčetovićem,
Stojanom Popovićem i Andrijanom Videnović.
1996–2019.

Milorad Mladenovic
Untitled [Plan]
a series of pencil and pastel drawings on paper,
mat notes and accompanying audio installations
Interviews with
Zoran Furunović, Jelena Pavličić,
Ester Zajmi Milentijević, Goran Stojčetović,
Stojan Popović and Andrijana Videnović
1996–2019





HRABROST I/ILI KUKAVIČLUK

COURAGE AND/OR COWARDICE

škart

HRABROST I/ILI KUKAVIČLUK

Bilo je leto, 2007. godina, uobičajeni razgovor trojice prijatelja u takozvanom belom svetu, daleko od kuće. Saša se prisetio 1991. godine i svog iskustva kada ga je mobilisala tadašnja JNA i poslala na front u Slavoniju. Kako je priča postajala dramatičnija, počeo sam brzo da crtam i zapisujem. Mišel i ja smo postavljali pitanja. Bilo nam je važno da priču objavimo zato što su bezumni nacionalistički ratovi devedesetih upropastili milione života na prostoru Jugoslavije. Sašino svedočenje govori o tom besmislu. Na 41. strani Mišel pita da li smo se plašili, i obojica kažemo: da!

U poslednjem poglavlju knjige, u bolnici, plašeći se ponovnog odlaska na front, Saša je odlučio da ode iz Srbije – zauvek.

Šta je tada, početkom devedesetih, značila hrabrost, a šta kukavičluk?

Otići u rat za koji nije bilo jasno zašto se vodi ili od rata pobeći?

Sada, posle skoro trideset godina, kada se zna da je rezultat tog rata oko 140.000 poginulih i oko četiri miliona ljudi koji su postali izbeglice (od kojih je veliki broj napustio Jugoslaviju), jasno je koliko je zla naneo nacionalizam i zašto je važno prepoznati ga i zaustaviti na vreme.

škart

COURAGE AND/OR COWARDICE

It was the summer of 2007; a usual talk between three friends somewhere in the world, far from home. Saša reminisced on 1991 and his experience of mobilization by the JNA (Yugoslav National Army) and being sent-off to Slavonia. As the story became increasingly exciting, I started to draw and write things down as quickly as I could. Mišel and I were asking questions. It was important to us to publish the story because the mindless nationalist wars of the 1990s ruined millions of lives on the territory of Yugoslavia. Saša's testimony is evidence to that madness. On page 41 Mišel asks whether we were afraid and we both exclaimed: yes!

In the last chapter of the book, in the hospital, afraid of being sent to the front again, Saša decided to leave Serbia forever.

What did it mean, in the nineties, to be brave, and what did it mean to be cowardly?

To head-on to a war one did not know the reason for, or to avoid it?

Now, almost thirty years later, when it is known that the war resulted in approximately 140,000 killed and that around 4 million people became refugees (most of whom left Yugoslavia), the extent of the evil brought on by nationalism is clear and why it is so important to recognize it in time, and stop it.







škart
Kadrovi iz grafičke novele *Rat*
akril na lesonitu
17 x 25 cm
2019.

škart
Frames from the Graphic Novel *War*
acrylic on hardboard
17 x 25 cm
2019


TATA, ZAŠTO SAM JA OVDE? ŠTA MI HOĆEMO? JA SAMO ŽELIM DA SAČUVAM ŽIVU GLAVU.
TATA, JA NE MOGU DA PUCAM U ČOVEKA!


SINE, AKO TREBA DA BIRAŠ ČIJU GLAVU DA SAČUVAŠ, BIRAJ SVOJU!


SAŠA

PRIJATELJI

FRIENDS

Goranka Matić

PRIJATELJI

Bili smo tužni kada su odlazili u Kanadu januara 1994. a svi smo se smeškali za fotografiju.
Dobijam čestitke svake Nove godine i viđam ih jednom godišnje.
U međuvremenu, sin Filip im se rodio, završio fakultet i živi svoj kanadski život.

Goranka Matić
FRIENDS

We were sad when they left for Canada in January 1994, but we all smiled for the photograph.

I receive cards for each New Year and see them annually.

In the meantime, their son Filip was born, had finished his university studies and is living his Canadian life.









Goranka Matić
Ljilja i Goran odlaze u Kanadu
januar 1994.

Goranka Matić
Ljilja and Goran Leaving for Canada
January 1994

DOSTOJANSTVO
SOLIDARNOST
INTERNACIONALIZAM

DIGNITY
SOLIDARITY
INTERNATIONALISM

škart + Žene u crnom + Vesna Pavlović

DOSTOJANSTVO
SOLIDARNOST
INTERNACIONALIZAM

Velike riječi koje smo pominjale malo ili nikako.

Umjesto njih, pred nama su bila lica, osobe koje su samo jednim korakom, izbačene iz svojih domova, postale statistički broj.

Za nas, mnogo više od toga. Dobrinka, Ljubica, Sena... Dunja, Stevo i Janko... Snježana, Zora, Angelina... Vjerujući da je drugačija politika moguća naučile smo da je solidarnost odnos uzajamne podrške.

Za nas oni su bili prognanice/prognanici što su u svojim potrganim dušama donijeli bol i patnju, a u izbjeglištvu se nepovjerenjem i oprezom branili kao štitom.

Pomagale smo im da sačuvaju očajničku, nepokolebljivu želju da opet postanu samo „normalni". Poklanjale su nam povjerenje, a mi smo ih slušale i osluškivale. Nisu nam objašnjavale šta znači želja da udahneš vjetrove svog djetinjstva... Sanjati kamen i čokote vinove loze, raskoš „rođenih" šuma; kaćune i visibabe... Neke su sanjale bagrenje...

Sve one su došle iz „najljepšeg kraja na svijetu". Pričale su o sebi, a mi nismo samo slušale. Otvarale smo im svoju dušu i domove. Dolazile smo s hranom i odjećom, grudnjacima, gaćama (Sena, učiteljica: „Sramota me da uzmem, a opet, znam da mi treba..."); ali i pokušavale da im vratimo osmijeh i suze, sve ljudsko u njima.

Donosile smo im roze kartone koje su ispisivale i iscrtavale fragmentima svoje duše. Metre bijelog platna i šarene vunice koje su punile motivima predjela u kojim su zauvijek ostale njihove stope i gdje još odzvanjaju njihovi koraci.

Gdje su ostali, u napuštenim grobovima njihovi voljeni...

S nama su dolazile naše prijateljice/prijatelji iz međunarodne mreže ŽUC. Nosile sa sobom i pričale njihove priče. Kao što su fragmenti njihovih „roze" predratnih života na stranicama knjige *Sjećam se* značili da nisu samo broj, tako su i prijateljice koje su, donoseći ne samo hranu i odjeću nego i poneki ruž, ogrlicu, štap za pecanje ili naočale značile/značili da nisu same/sami.

A najvažnije je bilo da smo sve/svi zajedno, izbjeglice, aktivistkinje ŽUC, Prota i Vesna (škart) i naša mreža istkale/istkali predivnu priču o samopoštovanju, prijateljstvu, ljubavi...

Radmila Žarković

škart + Women in Black + Vesna Pavlović
DIGNITY
SOLIDARITY
INTERNATIONALISM

Big words we mentioned rarely or never.

Instead, we came across faces of the people who, with just one step, evicted from their homes, became a statistical number.

For us, so much more than that. Dobrinka, Ljubica, Sena… Dunja, Stevo and Janko… Snježana, Zora, Angelina… Believing that a different politics is possible, we learned that solidarity is a relationship of mutual support.

For us, they were exiles, who brought pain and suffering in their broken souls, and defended themselves with mistrust and caution like a shield in the state of exile.

We helped them to preserve their desperate, unwavering desire to become just "normal" again. They trusted us, and we were sensitive to each sound and listened. They did not explain to us what the desire to inhale the winds of your childhood meant… Dreaming of a stone and grapevines, the splendor of "native" forests, orchis' and snowdrops… Some dreamed of acacias…

All of them came from "the most beautiful part of the world." They talked about themselves, and we did not merely listen. We opened up our souls and homes to them. We came with food and clothes, bras, pants (Sena, a teacher: "I am ashamed to take them, then again, I know I need them…); and we tried to give them back their smiles and their tears, everything human in them.

We brought them pink cards which they wrote and drew upon with fragments of their souls.

Meters of white canvas, and colored wool, which they filled with the landscapes where their footprints remain forever and where their steps still echo.

Where, in abandoned graves, their beloved remain…

We were accompanied by our friends from the national Women in Black network.

We carried with us and told their stories. Just like the fragments of their "pink" pre-war lives on the pages of the book *I Remember* meant that they weren't merely just a number, so also did the friends that, by bringing not only food and clothes, but also the occasional lipstick, necklace, fishing rod, or glasses, meant they were not alone.

And, what was most important was that we were all together, refugees, Women in Black activists, Prota and Vesna (škart) and our network wove a beautiful story about self-respect, friendship, love…

Radmila Žarković

Vesna Pavlović
Poseta izbegličkom kampu Miloševac
1993.

Dokumentarna sećanja/sjećanja (1 crtež + 1 tekst) žena izbeglih iz ratova na teritoriji Bosne i Hrvatske o predratnom suživotu i poslednjim tragovima mira, prikupljena aktivističkim terenskim radom Žena u crnom u izbegličkim kampovima Mala Krsna, Kovilovo i Mikulja tokom 1994. godine, sabrana su u knjizi Sjećam se, odštampanoj novcem prikupljenim uličnim prodajnim akcijama saborkinja iz Italije i Španije

izdale: Žene u crnom, Beograd, 1995.
uredila: Radmila Žarković
koncept akcije SJEĆAM SE i dizajn knjige: škart
prevod: Slavica Stojanović, Maurizio Renesto, Grupo de Amigas de Madrid (Michelle, Yolanda, Ana)
realizovano uz solidarnu pomoć: Grupo activista por la paz – Santa Marta, Extremadura, Espana; Donne associazione per la pace, Italia; Mujeres para la salud, Valencia; Rete di iniziative contro la guerra, Padova



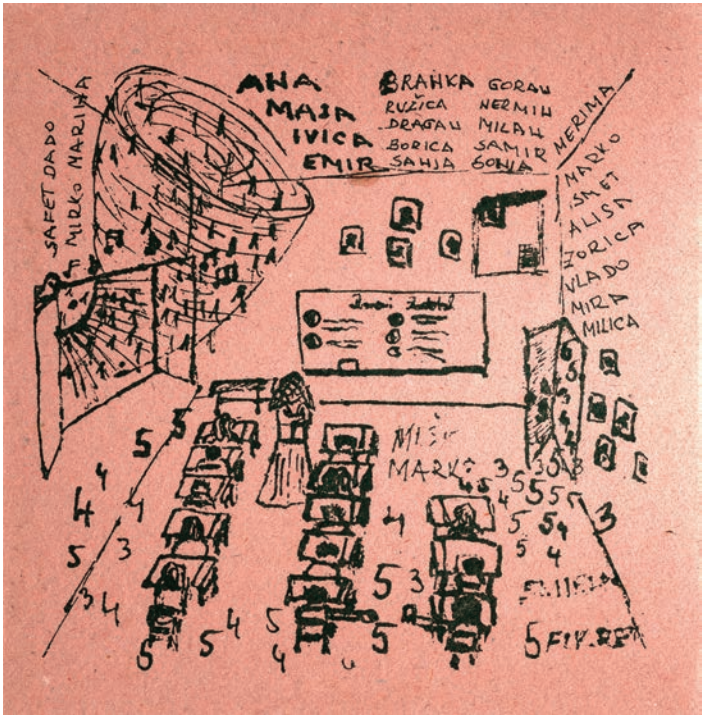
Vesna Pavlović
Visiting the refugee camp Miloševac
1993

Documentary Memories (1 drawing + 1 text) of women fleeing the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, about pre-war coexistence and glimpses of peace, collected through the activist field work of the Women in Black at Mala Krsna, Kovilovo and Mikulja refugee camps during 1994; they were collected in a book bearing the name I Remember, printed with money raised by street sale campaigns by female comrades-in-arms from Italy and Spain.

Published by Women in Black, Belgrade, 1995.
Edited by: Radmila Žarković
The concept of the action I REMEMBER and the design of the book: škart
Translation: Slavica Stojanović, Maurizio Renesto, Grupo de Amigas de Madrid (Michelle, Yolanda, Ana)
Realized with the solidarity assistance of: Grupo activista por la paz – Santa Marta, Extremadura, España; Donne associazione per la pace, Italia; Mujeres para la salud, Valencia; Rete di iniziative contro la guerra, Padua

škart + Žene u crnom
Stranice iz knjige *Sjećam se*
1993–1995
Crtež i tekst:
nastavnica Sena, izbeglički kamp Kovilovo
24 x 24 cm
(crtež tušem na koričari)

Škart + Women in Black,
Pages from the book *I Remember*
1993–1995
Drawings and texts:
teacher Sena, refugee camp Kovilovo
24 x 24 cm
(black ink drawing on the cover page)



Poslije poslednjeg časa

Treći april 1992. Petak. Prvi čas kontrolni u VI3. Đačići, polumodri, polusneni, ali ozbiljni. Pomoćni glagol BITI: budem, biću, bilo...

Obrazi se zarumenješe – od napora. U prvoj i drugoj klupi do prozora – blizanci: Ivana i Boža, Samir i Sanela. Sestrice pokušavaju pomoći nešto slabijoj braći. Pravim se da ne vidim... Ja nikad nisam imala brata. Zbog rata – ovog tama...

„Djecu treba pustiti kućama!" – nestvarno ozbiljan u žurbi saopštava kolega.

Ah, da! U svitanje je granata eksplodirala kraj mog kreveta. Lako mi se učinilo. Prva granata na Kupresu... Treći april 1992...

Eno, otjeraše kolegu B. Po njega su došla četvorica. Dvojica – njegovi bivši đaci. Kao da se izvinjavaju, gledaju ustranu

Draga moja školska djeco! Istina je da sam opsovala Hrvatsku i Srbiju – i Boga! Nije istina da su mi u kući našli dva snajpera! Šta bih ja s njima?! Pa ja sam i vaše roditelje učila...

Nikad više neću u učionicu. Poslije poslednjeg časa, nemam više šta reći.

Sjećate li se kad smo čitali dirljive tekstove i na kraju ćutali, ćutali... Ako smo mogli do kraja... Govorili ste: „Nije sramota plakati, nastavnice."

Da moje riječi nisu zanijemile, poželjela bih samo, samo još jedan školski čas: da galamimo, galamimo, da vičemo, da na kraj svijeta da se čuje; do neba, do Boga, djeco moja!

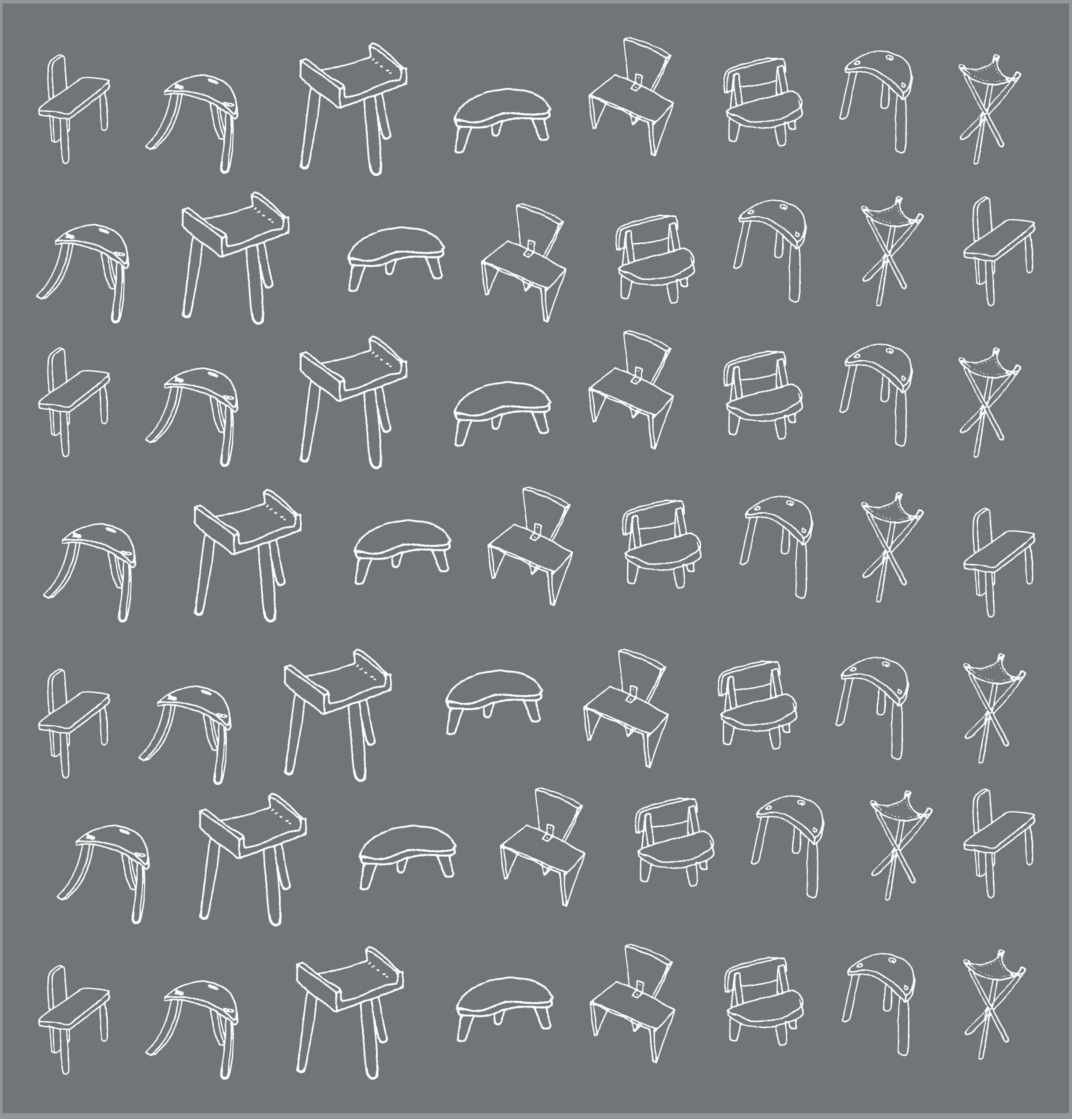
Vaša nastavnica Elna

ŽUDNJA ZA ŽIVOTOM

LUST FOR LIFE

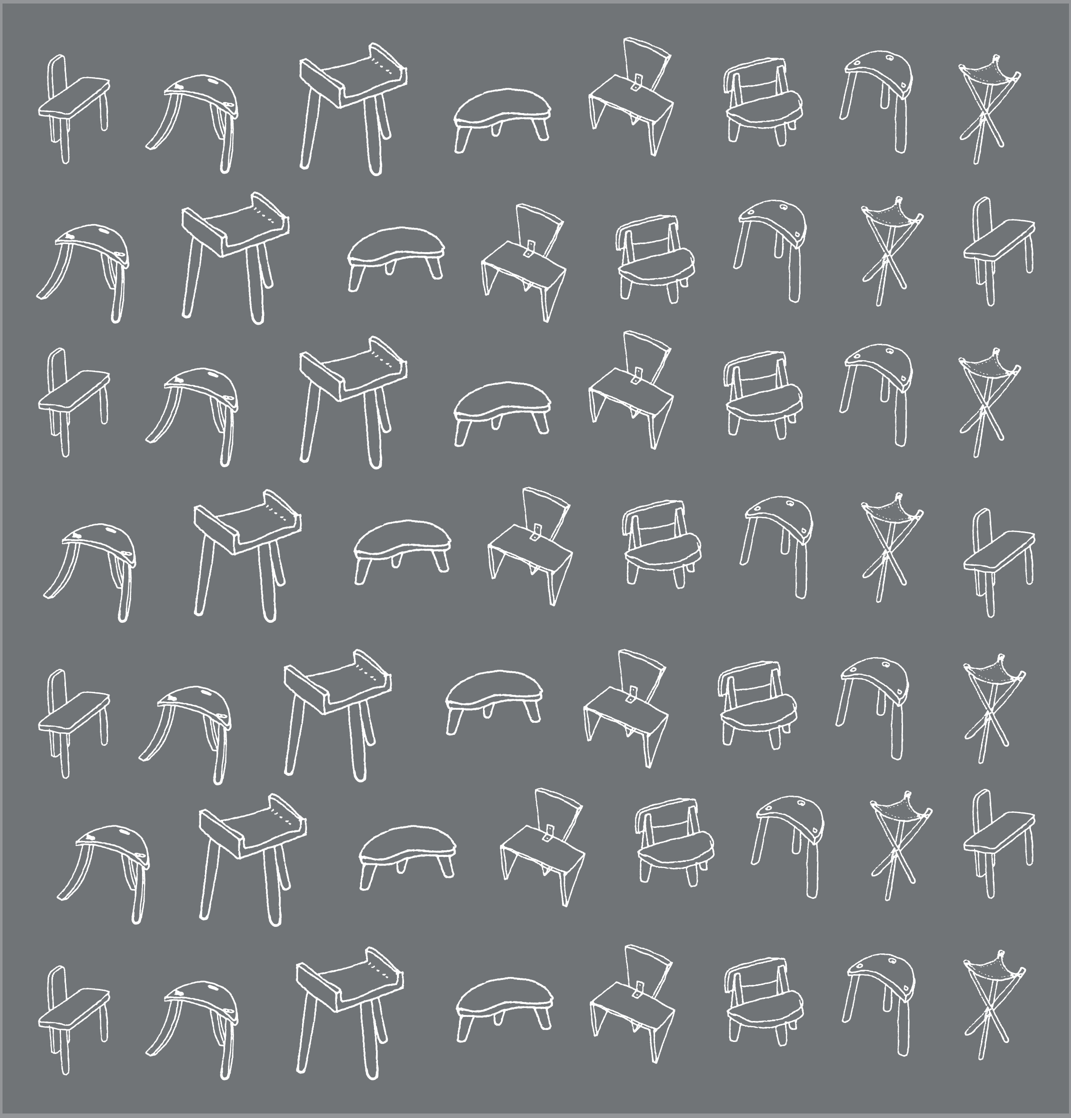
Ana Miljanić + Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju

ŽUDNJA ZA ŽIVOTOM



Ana Miljanić + Center for Cultural Decontamination

LUST FOR LIFE



„Red za vize" ispred Nemačkog konzulata u Birčaninovoj ulici u Beogradu, pored ulaza u CZKD
Foto: Vesna Pavlović

Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju je „živeo" s redom za vize od osnovinja 1994. „iza" Nemačkog konzulata, kao svakodnevnim kontekstom rada i programskom tematizacijom kuće. Red za vize je „igrao" u CZKD predstavama i drugim programima i akcijama, između ostalog sakupljanjem stoličica koje su devedesetih gradjani ostavljali nakon čekanja u redu. Ove stolice su prvi put izložene u predstavi „Performans K", a potom i u okviru izložbe „Dosije Srbija – Procena stvarnosti 90-ih" (Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 2000.)

Performans K je predstava nastala na osnovu anonimnih pisama i drugih materijala progona umetnika i javnih ličnosti 90-tih, kao i tekstova glumaca koji su zbog pretnji, rata i nacionalizma napustili zemlju (zatvaranje AlterImage festivala u Centru za kulturnu dekontaminaciju. Koncept i režija: Ana Miljanić, 7. oktobar 1996.
Foto: Vesna Pavlović





"Visa Queues" in front of the German Consulate in Birčaninova Street in Belgrade, beside the Center for Cultural Decontamination entrance
Photo: Vesna Pavlović

The Center for Cultural Decontamination (CZKD) "lived" with the visa queues from its founding in 1994, "behind" the German Consulate, as everyday working context and program thematization of the house. Visa Queue "played" in CZKD by means of theatre performances and other programs and actions, among others, by collecting the small chairs during the 1990s, left by citizens waiting in line. These chairs were first exhibited in the theater production Performance K. They were also used in the exhibition Serbia File – Reality Assessment in the 1990s, The Academy of Arts in Berlin, 2000.

Performance K was created based on the anonymous letters and other materials in connection with the exile of artist and public figures from the 1990s, as well as text if the actors who, due to threats, war and nationalism, left the country (closing of the AlterImage Festival at the Center for Cultural Decontamination (CZKD). Concept and direction by Ana Miljanić, October 7, 1996.
Photo: Vesna Pavlović

5. septembar 1997.
Vilhelm Rajh: *Čuj, Mali čoveče*
Koncept i režija: Ana Miljanić
Mali ulični prizori
Produkcija CZKD

U skladu s tradicijama pozorišta potlačenog i nevidljivog pozorišta, rediteljka Ana Miljanić osmislila je deset akcija, koje su se tokom jednog dana, od 10 do 19 časova, dešavale na svaki puni sat u različitim delovima grada. Performans *Čuj, Mali čoveče!* bio je deo festivala *Zabrinuti septembar 1997! Wilhelm Rajh u Beogradu! Žudnja za životom* na čijoj su produkciji radili Fond za otvoreno društvo u saradnji sa CZKD, Kulturni centar Rex i Kulturni centar Beograda.

September 5, 1997
Wilhelm Reich: *Listen, Little Man!*
Concept and direction: Ana Miljanić
Street Scenes
Production by CZKD
(Center for Cultural Decontamination)

In keeping with the traditions of the theater of the oppressed and invisible theater, director Ana Miljanić designed ten actions which took place from 10 am to 7 pm, at every full hour in different parts of the city. The performance *Listen, Little Man!* was part of the Festival *Worried September 1997! Reich in Belgrade! Lust for Life* produced by the Open Society Fund in cooperation with CZKD (Center for Cultural Decontamination), Cinema Rex and Cultural Center Belgrade.





Grupa škart je izradila dizajn Festivala i intervenisala je na svim mestima dešavanja malih uličnih prizora postavljanjem registarskih tablica *Žudnja za životom*.

The group škart who did the design for the Festival also intervened in all places where Street Scenes took place by displaying *Lust for Life* license plates.

18 časova, M. Z. Mirijevo
Pitaš se šta će tvoj komšija o tome da kaže
Javni gest: Zoran Jovanović, čita Vilhelma Rajha
Foto: Vesna Pavlović
Ljubaznošću: Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju

6 pm, "Mirijevo" Local Community Office
You Wonder What Your Neighbor Will Say about That
Public gesture: Zoran Jovanović, reading Wilhelm Reich
Photo: Vesna Pavlović
Courtesy of: Center for Cultural Decontamination

škart
Žudnja za životom
emajlirana ploča
1997.

škart
Lust for Life
enamelled plate
1997

RUKE

HANDS

Grupa 484
RUKE

Ruke – u ovom slučaju metafora za poziv na saradnju i suživot domaćih stanovnika s izbeglicama. Otvorene ruke; rukovanje kao izraz ravnopravnosti i uvažavanja. Metafora ruku je u suprotnosti sa čizmama – metaforičkim prikazom odbijanja, odgurivanja, ponižavanja.

Logo Grupe 484, rad Vlade Petrovića, sadrži simboliku ruku koje zajednički stvaraju dom, mesto pod suncem za 484 izbegličke porodice i za humanost – oličenu figurom čoveka.

Izbeglištvu prethodi brutalno iskorenjivanje ljudi iz države, društva i kulture koji su do tada bili njihovi. Veze sa institucijama i zakonom prestaju i čovek više nema zaštitu niti slobodu; od državljana nastaju izbeglice. Vera u ljude i ljudskost biva rastrgana.

Izbeglištvo je najčešće etiketa koja oduzima svaki drugi identitet, podrazumeva slabost i manju vrednost. Ponovo osvojiti mesto u ljudskom društvu, postati samosvojan i samostalan san je i trud svakoga u izbeglištvu. Za to je neophodna pomoć domaćih stanovnika.

Grupa 484 osnovana je 1995. na inicijativu Jelene Šantic, priznate balerine i mirovne aktivistkinje. Program humanitarne pomoći za 484 porodice izbegle tokom vojnih akcija u Hrvatskoj je iz okvira Centra za antiratnu akciju prerastao u samostalnu organizaciju. Osnovni princip bilo je samoorganizovanje – zajedničko delovanje izbeglica iz 484 porodice i domaćih stručnjaka na osnaživanju i osamostaljenju izbeglica.

Osnovani su programi za psihosocijalnu pomoć u kojima su radili psiholozi iz Srbije i iz 484 porodice. Ekonomski program je obuhvatao tkalačku radionicu, majstorski servis i zubarsku ordinaciju. Program za pravnu zaštitu vodio je pravnik u izbeglištvu zajedno s domaćim advokatom. Članice psihosocijalnog tima Grupe 484, izbeglice, izvele su program podrške stanovništvu Istočne Slavonije u saradnji s hrvatskim mirovnim organizacijama tokom UN reintegracije tog dela u okvire Hrvatske. Ostvareni su programi za promociju tolerancije i poštovanja različitosti u školama širom Srbije koji deluju i danas.

Saradnjom domaćih i izbeglih ljudi nastala je snažna organizacija koja nastavlja da integriše izbeglice i zastupa njihovo pravo na dostojanstvo i na pripadanje.

Group 484
HANDS

In this case, *hands* are a metaphor inviting collaboration and co-existence between locals and refugees. Open hands; a handshake as an expression of equality and respect. The hands metaphor is in opposition to *boots* – the metaphorical representation of repulsion, dismissal, humiliation.

The logo of the Group 484 designed by Vlada Petrović includes the hand symbolism that creates a home, a place under the sun for 484 refugee families; for humanity embodied by the figure of a man.

Exile is preceded by the brutal uproot of people from the state, from society and culture that were theirs to that point. There are no more links with institutions and the law, and a person no longer has protection or freedom; citizens become refugees. Faith in people and humanity are obliterated.

Being in exile is the most frequent label that erases any other identity, implies weakness and lesser value. To regain ones position in human society, become one's own person and independent, is the dream and effort of each person in exile. This requires help from the locals.

The Group 484 was founded in 1995 by Jelena Šantić, a renowned ballet dancer and peace activist. The humanitarian aid program was intended for 484 families that fled military advance in Croatia. It emerged from the Center for Anti-War Action and evolved into an independent organization. The main principle was self-organization – the joint efforts of refugees from 484 families and local experts, working towards the empowerment and self-sufficiency of refugees. The program for psychosocial help was established in which psychologists from Serbia and from the 484 families worked together. The economic program included a weaving workshop, a handyman service and a dental office. The legal protection program was run by a refugee lawyer together with a local lawyer. Members of the Group 484 psychosocial team, refugees, carried out a program of support to the population of Eastern Slavonia in cooperation with Croatian peace organizations during the UN's reintegration of this part into Croatia. Programs have been implemented to promote tolerance and respect for diversity in schools throughout Serbia, and they continue to operate today. Through the cooperation of locals and refugees, a strong organization has emerged that continues to integrate refugees and represent their right to dignity and belonging.

Goranka Matić
Jelena Šantić i tim volontera projekta Pakrac
maj, 1995.

Goranka Matić
Jelena Šantić and Project Pakrac volunteer team
May, 1995

Goranka Matić
Balet, pobuna, istorija
1970e, 1990e, 2000e.

Goranka Matić
Ballet, Rebellion, History
1970s, 1990s, 2000s.

Jelena Šantić sa Zapadnim Slavoncima
Pančevo, maj, 1997.
Ljubaznošću: Fondacija „Jelena Šantić"

Jelena Šantić with Western Slavonians
Pančevo, May, 1997
Courtesy of: The "Jelena Šantić" Fondation








Jelena-Šantić-Friedenspark



SLOBODNA PRIVREMENA TERITORIJA

FREE TEMPORARY TERRITORY

Kolektiv *Migrative Art*

SLOBODNA PRIVREMENA TERITORIJA

Nećeš izaći na slobodnu teritoriju.

....

Ja moram na slobodnu teritoriju. Tamo će napisati svoju najbolju pesmu, jedinu, pravu, onu zbog koje tolike godine piše, štampa zbirke koje nisu bile drugo do skice i vežbe i školski zadaci za onu jedinu pesmu koju će napisati kada stigne na slobodnu teritoriju, udahne onaj vazduh budan i visok, onu jedinu pesmu zbog koje je vredelo živeti.

Oskar Davičo, *Pesma*

Privremene slobodne teritorije se u nemačkim vojnim izvorima nazivaju „plivajućim ostrvima". Na oslobođenoj teritoriji u ratnim uslovima tekao je život i stvarale su se nove norme, delatnost nove vlasti nastavljala se i pošto bi partizanske snage napustile mikro zone slobode.

Kako danas doći do slobodnih teritorija, šta alhemišemo i sublimiramo danas na teritorijama privremeno realizovane slobode? Koji su danas vektori prakse slobode, kuda je potrebno otići, emigrirati, kako postati migrant nametnute svakodnevice da bi se postvarilo mišljenje slobode i slobodne misli kao prakse emancipacije *za sve.*

Godine 1991. kolektiv jugoslovenskih umetnika u nastajanju sastao se, pred emigriranje, na fotografskim setovima (*Gde sam kad me moja zemlja zove u rat?,* Beograd 1991), u pismima iz egzila i u belgijskom studentskom gradu Luven la Nevu kao ekstrateritoriji, kako bi privremenim „okupiranjem" u trajanju umetničkih akcija (*Male-mini-mikro Magije*, *Zakopavanje umetničkih radova sa ciljem otkopavanja kada rat prođe*) simbolički doprineo oslobođenju teritorija u svetu zahvaćenom permanentnim ratovima.

Kolektiv „Migrative art", kasnije „E-I-Migrative art" nastao je kao odgovor na okupaciju celokupnog jugoslovenskog prostora 1991. godine.

Tačno 28 godina kasnije, i gotovo sedamdesetak nakon prvih slobodnih teritorija 1941. u Užicu, na slobodnoj teritoriji Užičke republike i/ili Partizanskoj Drežnici iste godine, izložba *Devedesete: Rečnik migracija* u Muzeju Jugoslavije kao deo projekta *Nova mapiranja Evrope* pruža mogućnost postavljanja istih pitanja u današnjim uslovima na prvi pogled pacifizovanog konteksta: obruča na novi način. Da li smo danas u permanentnoj opsadi i ratu različitim sredstvima bez klasičnih metoda objave rata? Koji je danas pogled na slobodne privremene teritorije partizanskog rata izražene istorijskim samoorganizujućim figurama gerilskog organizovanja slobode: *partizanskim bolnicama, izbegličkim logorima, slobodnim obrazovanjem i umetničkim akcijama* – na današnjim privremenim slobodnim izbegličkim teritorijama redukovanim na mesta zaklona, zarastanja i negovanja rana, u kontekstu velike svetske rane – masovnog izbeglištva i migranata. Koja je prednost privremenosti, tranzitornosti? Kako ponoviti gest mobilnosti jugoslovenskih partizana, raditi na permanentnim, a tranzitornim koreografijama partizanskih koraka i eksperimenta nemogućih proboja i meandara slobode? Koja je pesma i na kojoj teritoriji slobode ostala svakome od nas da je ispeva i lansira protiv velike nepravde sveta?

Privremeni kolektiv *E-I-Migrative art*
Sa slobodne privremene teritorije
avgust 2019.

Collective *Migrative Art*
FREE TEMPORARY TERRITORY

Just that: you will not be able to go to liberated territory.
....
I have to get to liberated territory. When I get there, and breathe in that thoroughly conscious high altitude air, I shall write my greatest poem, the only really great one worth living for.

Oskar Davičo, *The Poem* (Translated by Alec Brown, London: Lincolns-Prager, 1959)

German military sources refer to temporary free territories as "floating islands." In war conditions, life went on as usual and new rules were made on liberated territories, the activities of the new government continued even after the partisans left these zones.

How to reach free territories today? What are we alchemizing and sublimating today on territories of temporarily realized freedom? What are today's vectors of the practice of freedom; where do we have to go, to emigrate; how is one to become a migrant of an imposed quotidian to realize thought on freedom and free thought as emancipatory practice *for all*.

In 1991 a collective of Yugoslav artists in constitution met, just before emigrating, at photos shoots (*Where Am I When My Country Calls Me to War?*, Belgrade 1991), in letters from exile and in the Belgian student's city Louvain-la-Neuve as extra-territory. Through temporary "occupation" over the course of the art action (*Little-Mini-Micro Magic, Burying Artworks with the Goal of Excavating Them When the War Stops*), their aim was to symbolically contribute to the liberation of territories in a world that is in a permanent state of war.

Collective Migrative Art, later renamed E-I-Migrative Art, was formed as the answer to the occupation of the entire Yugoslav space in 1991.

Twenty-eight years later and almost seventy years after the first liberated territories of 1941 in Užice (the free territory of the Republic of Užice and/or Partizanska Drežnica, in the same year), the exhibition *The Nineties: A Glossary of Migrations* which is part of the project *New Mappings of Europe* at the Museum of Yugoslavia, reopens the possibility of requestioning the same topics in the present circumstances of a seemingly pacified context: encirclement of a new kind. Are we in a permanent state of siege and war via different means, without the classical methods of the declaration of war? What is the view today on the free temporary territories of the partisan war, expressed through the historical, self-organized figures of guerilla organization of freedom: *partisan hospitals, refugee camps, free education and artistic actions* – on the present temporary free refugee territories reduced to places of shelter, healing and tending wounds, in the context of a large global wound – mass exile and migrants? What are the benefits of temporariness, of transit? How to reenact the Yugoslav partisans' gesture of mobility and work on permanent but transitory choreographies treaded by the partisans and experiment impossible breakthroughs and meanders of freedom? Which poem, on which free territory has yet to be versified by each of us and launched against the great injustice of the world?

Temporary Collective E-I-Migrative Art
From the Free Temporary Territory
August 2019

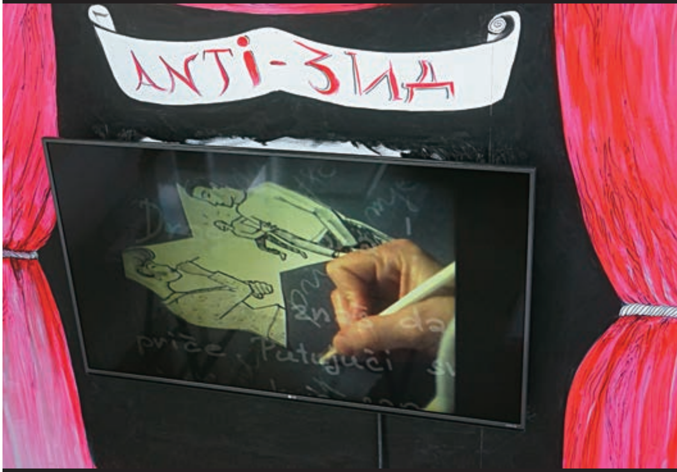
Anti-Zid: (E-I) Migrative art-a 1991–2001.
Arhive, dokumenta, fotografije, prozirna pisma
Realizacija: Ljubomir Jakić, Ivana Momčilović,
Miloš Čvorović, Helena Klakočar
Hvala: Proti-škart
Foto: Nemanja Knežević

Anti-wall: (E-I) Migrative art 1991–2001
Archives, documents, photos, transparent letters
Realisation: Ljubomir Jakić, Ivana Momčilović,
Miloš Čvorović, Helena Klakočar
Thanks: Prota-škart
Photo: Nemanja Knežević



Kolektiv Migrative art + E-l-Migrative art – jedan fragment
Koordinacija i osnovni koncept postavke za izložbu u Muzeju Jugoslavije: Ivana Momčilović 2018/2019

Collective Migrative Art + E-l-Migrative Art – one fragment
Coordination and main concept for the exhibition at the Museum of Yugoslavia: Ivana Momčilović, 2018/2019



Filip de Pjerpon (režija) /
Ivana Momčilović (tekst + pisma prijatelja)
Šta se dogodilo sa mojim prijateljima?
film, '58:36
Produkcija: GSARA, Belgija
1995.
Foto: Čarli Kejs

Philippe de Pierpont (director) /
Ivana Momcilovic (script + friend's letters)
What happened with my friends?
Film, '58:36
Production: GSARA, Belgium
1995
Photo: Charley Case



Slobodne Privremene Teritorije
intervencija na zidu:
Prota-škart, Čarli Kejs, Helena Klakočar
dramaturški koncept: Ivana Momčilović
2019, Muzej Jugoslavije
Foto: Nemanja Knežević

Free Temporary Territories
intervention on the wall: Prota-škart,
Charley Case, Helena Klakočar
dramaturgical template: Ivana Momčilović
2019, Museum of Yugoslavia
Photo: Nemanja Knežević



Akcija privremenog oslobađanja teritorija
Postavljanje zastave na zgradu
Evropskog parlamenta, bez dozvole
Brisel, 1995
Foto: Ljubomir Jakić
Ljubaznošću: Jelice Radovanović
i Dejana Anđelkovića

Action of temporary liberation of territories
Erecting a flag on a European Parliament
building without permission
Brussels, 1995
Photo: Ljubomir Jakić
Courtesy of: Jelica Radovanović and
Dejan Anđelković

MESTO

PLACE

Dejan Dimitrijević + Nebojša Šerić Shoba

MESTO

mesto */ imenica / određena pozicija, tačka ili oblast u prostoru; lokacija*

Način na koji pojedinci doživljavaju stanje imigracije razlikuje se u zavisnosti od konteksta u kojem osoba imigrira, odnosno od protagoniste samog iskustva u kojem pojedinac pozicionira sebe u novo okruženje i nove uslove života. *Oni / onda* i *sada* su parametri u okvirima kojih se data osoba nalazi u stanju konstantnog upoređivanja i, što je takođe interesantno, stvara se stanje napetosti između ove dve tačke, s čije je jedne strane uporna potraga za sigurnim, poznatim mestom. Političko, ekonomsko i geografsko prilagođavanje novoj lokaciji vođeni su upornim i intenzivnim otkrivanjem tog prostora i pozicije pojedinca u njemu.

Da li je prostor u kranjoj liniji mesto? Prostor – kao teritorija koju je moguće mapirati i istražiti; mesto – kao zanimanje/bavljenje/okupiranje, stanište, „biti živ".

Stanovište je nekih da značenje mesta ne možemo da pronađemo u svojim iskustvima mesta, koliko u utemeljenju iskustva u samom mestu, kao i da ovo vezivanje za mesto nije kontingentna karakteristika ljudskog postojanja, već da ona proizlazi iz same prirode ljudskog mišljenja, iskustva i identiteta kao utemeljenih u mestu i kroz njega.

Mesto i prostor-vreme su ključni koncepti našeg rada, tako da naša iskustva mesta i bivanja u određenom mestu teže otkrivanju i ponovnim otkrivanjima suptilne tenzije koja obelodanjuje šta smo bili i šta smo sada. Naše iskustvo mesta je da se ono sastoji iz grupe odvojenih stvari. Ili se čini da je to mesto podeljeno unutar sebe kada je posmatrano kroz pristranost/sklonost za deljenjem? Ako je podela iluzija stvorena mislima, onda postoji samo jedno mesto. Neki to mesto nazivaju Bogom.

Kroz filozofiju mesta teži se razumevanju načina na koji ljudska bića shvataju mesto kao takvo i kako različite prakse mogu da proizvedu različita iskustva mesta. Ona takođe traži veze između mesta i istraživačkih polja poput psihologije, geografije, sociologije i antropologije. Možemo se nadati da će ono proizvesti dublje razumevanje načina na koje je moguće razviti nova mesta na etičke, zdrave i održive načine.

Dejan Dimitrijević + Nebojša Šerić Shoba
PLACE

***place** / noun / a particular position, point, or area in space; a location.*

Individual experiences of the immigrational are different depending on the context in which a person immigrates, that is, the protagonist of the experience in which a person positions him/herself in a new environment and in new circumstances. *Then* and *Now* are the parameters within which that person finds him/herself in a state of constant comparison and, what is also interesting, a tension is created between these two points – constantly looking for a safe, familiar place. Politicly, economically, geographically adjusting oneself in a new location is driven by a constant and intensive re-discovery of that space and a person's place in it.

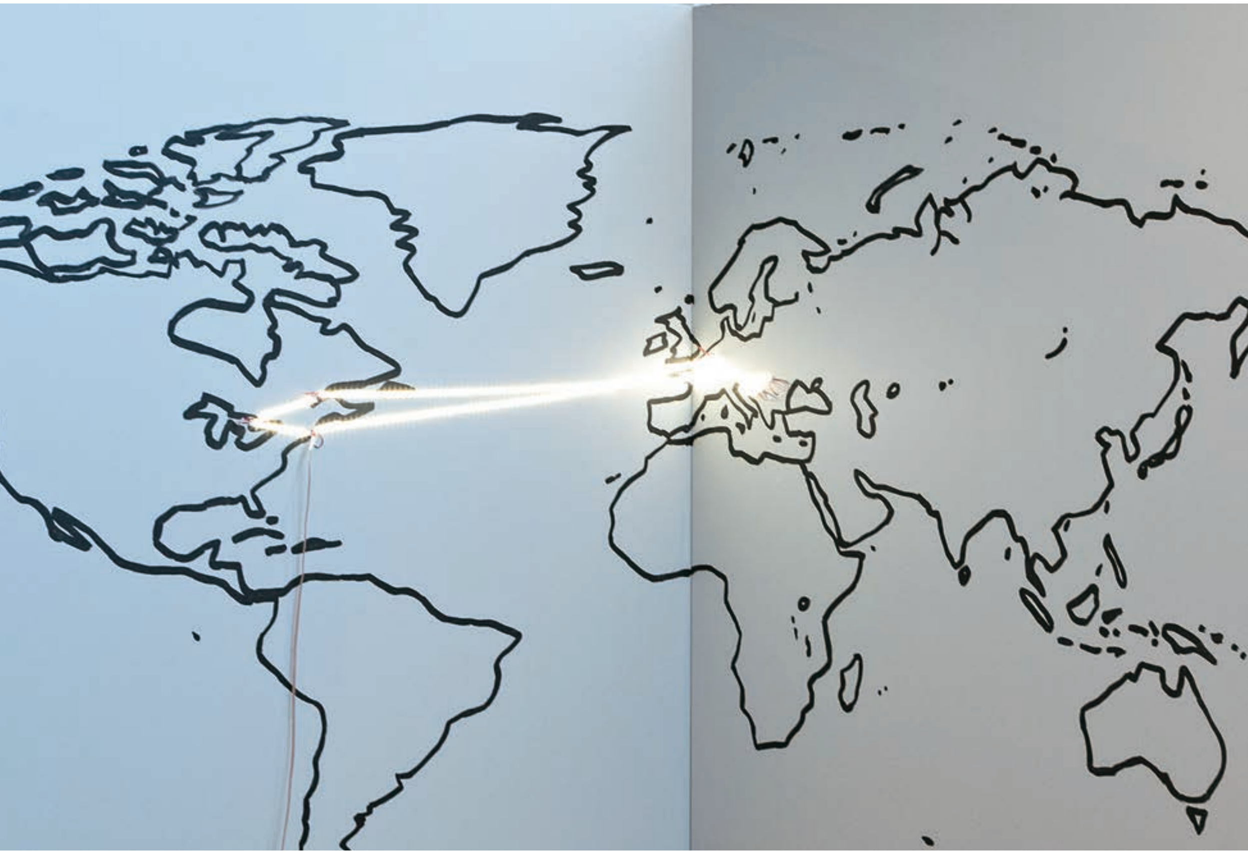
Is space ultimate place? Space – as territory, which is mappable, explorable; Place – as occupation, dwelling, being alive.

Some argue that the significance of place is not to be found in our experiences *of* place so much as in the grounding of experience *in* place, and that this binding to place is not a contingent feature of human existence, but derives from the very nature of human thought, experience and identity as established in and through place.

Place and spacetime are key concepts of our work, so our experience of place and in place aims to discover and rediscover the fine tension that revels what we were and what we are now.

Our experience of place is that it is made up of a collection of separate things. Or is it that place appears to be divided within itself when observed through the bias for division? If division is an illusion generated by thought, then there is only one place. Some people call that place God.

The philosophy of place attempts to understand how humans grasp place as such and how different practices can yield different experiences of place. It also looks at the connections between place and psychology, geography, sociology and anthropology, among other fields. Hopefully, it will produce greater understanding of how to develop new places in ethical, healthy and sustainable ways.



Dejan Dimitrijević i Nebojša Šerić Shoba su se prvi put sreli u septembru 1987. na Malom Lošinju (Hrvatska) na odsluženju vojnog roka u JNA. Dvojica umjetnika u „neumjetničkoj" sredini su se odmah sprijateljila i egzistirala u spartanskom okruženju, da bi na kraju obuke dobili prekomande na različite lokacije. Nakon odsluženja vojnog roka Dejan je upisao Akademiju u Beogradu, a Shoba u Sarajevu. Povremena pisma su uglavnom podsjećala na „slavne dane", sve dok početak raspada SFRJ nije prekinuo veze. Slijedeći susret se desio u Njujorku 2017. gdje su spontano na ulici napravili zajedničku fotografiju identičnu onoj od prije 30 godina. Obojica su u međuvremenu promijenila dosta sredina, „novi životi" su konstantno smjenjivali stare, da bi se obojica skrasila u Sjevernoj Americi: Dejan u Kanadi, a Shoba u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Rad Nekad & sad je upravo to što izgleda: začuđenost neočekivanim promjenama sredina i država, potraga za identitetom koji ne postoji, mapiranje nečega apstraktnog i neobjašnjivog, a opet toliko ličnog i prisnog.

Dejan Dimitrijević and Nebojša Šerić Shoba met for the first time in September 1987 in Mali Lošinj (Croatia) while serving in the JNA. Two artists in a non-art environment became friends immediately and existed in a spartan setting. After their training they finally left, having been posted to different locations. Following their military service, they both enrolled in the art academy: Dejan in Belgrade and Shoba in Sarajevo. Occasional letters were more or less reminiscent of the "glory days," until the start of the breakup of the SFRY that severed their ties. The next meeting took place in New York in 2017, where, spontaneously in the street, they took a photo identical to the one taken 30 years ago. Both had moved a lot, to that point, "new lives" were continuously replacing old ones, and they both finally settled down in North America: Dejan in Canada, and Shoba in the United States of America. The work Then & Now is exactly what it appears to be: bafflement at the unexpected changes in environments and countries, search for identity that does not exist, mapping something abstract and unexplainable, then again, so personal and intimate.





Dejan Dimitrijević/Nebojša Šerić Shoba
Nekad & sad
višemedijska instalacija
2017–2019.

Dejan Dimitrijević/Nebojša Šerić Shoba
Then & Now
mixed media installation
2017–19

RUPE

HOLES

Ivana Momčilović + Loran Vanson + škart
RUPE

U pozorišnoj predstavi i scensko-vanscenskom iskustvu *Rupe ili kad nismo bili svrstani* kolektiv E-I-Migrative art i reditelj Loran Vanson pošli su u traganje za prazninama ostalim u životima porodica izazvanim ratom u ex-Jugoslaviji.

U čemu se sastoji iracionalnost jednog rata? Šta ostaje posle njega? Polazeći od ruševina jednog uništenog društva, kako i gde sagraditi *sklonište*-mesto prekida-mesto munjevite slobode, gde mišljenje mentalnog i fizičkog preživljavanja postaje ponovo moguće? Koji se još neimenljivi ili teško imenljivi ratovi nastavljaju svakodnevno čak i u društvima samozvanog socijalnog mira? Kako dalje kada bombe padnu? ili dok još nisu pale reči **Dosta, nismo na prodaju! Nama pripadaju naši životi?** pitaju se ljudi kojima je obećan napredak za **SVE,** oduzet raznim socijalnim nepravdama. Kolektiv E-I-Migrative art (pisac, prevodilac), reditelj, scenografi škart, amateri i iskusni scenski radnici – svi su zajedno ovde u potrazi za radikalnim pozorišnim gestom čiji je cilj govoriti **SA** konkretnim osobama ovde i sada: mladim Romima deportovanim i raseljenim s Kosova, izbeglicama iz Hrvatske, majkama i suprugama, članicama komiteta nestalih i kidnapovanih lica, bivšim vojnicima i njihovim starešinama, dezerterima rata i još uvek ne dezerterima mira, ljudima koji su svedoci bombardovanja Beograda 1999. godine... Mnogobrojnim nevidljivima, izbrisanima, isključenima iz aktuelnog političkog i ekonomskog konteksta. S poetizovanog zaklona scene, kao renesansni glumci koje je od pubike delila nevidljiva gaza štiteći ih od naleta trulog paradajza, nevidijivi pričaju sami svoje živote na sceni uz prisustvo glumaca, igrača i muzičara Narodnog pozorišta iz Beograda, Brisela, Njujorka, Skoplja. Pogled Zapada ne izostaje. Belgijski glumci učestvuju podjednako: valonski i flamanski. Oni su neophodna distanca, ali i naivnost, stereotip mišljenja i gluma „glave u pesak”, kojom je Evropa čas pasivno, čas aktivno pokazala svoje duboko nerazumevanje konflikta, posmatrajući ga iz svog zadnjeg dvorišta i bašte. Egzemplarna koprodukcija Narodnog pozorišta u Beogradu i prvi put saradnja između dva najvažnija belgijska nacionalna pozorišta KVS-a (Kraljevskog flamanskog teatra) i Nacionalnog teatra valonsko-briselske zajednice, Brisel. Reditelj: Loran Vanson. Tekst prema rečima nevidljivih: Ivana Momčilović. Prevodilac na sceni: Ljubomir Jakić. Godina: 2004/2005.

Ivana Momčilović + Lorent Wanson + škart
HOLES

Holes or When We Weren't Aligned is a theatre and inter/outer-stage experience by the collective E-l-Migrative Art and director L. Wanson in which they set of in search of the "holes" in the lives of families caused by the war in the former Yugoslavia. Where lays the irrationality of a war? What is left afterwards? Starting from the ruins of a destroyed society, how and where to build a *shelter* – point of rupture/point of lighting freedom – where the thought of mental and physical survival become possible again. What are the other named and unnamed wars continuing in our everyday life even in societies of self-proclaimed social justice? How to go on when the bombs start to fall? Or, before the words: **Enough! We are not for sale! Our lives belong to us!**, fall. These are the questions posed to people who were promised progress for **ALL**, but who were robbed of social justice. The Collective El-Migrative Art (writer, translator), director, škart (stage designers), amateurs and experienced theatre professionals, they are all together here searching for a radical theatre gesture with the aim to talk **WITH** the concrete persons, here and now: young Roma deported and displaced from Kosovo, refugees from Croatia, mothers and wives, members of committees for disappeared and kidnapped persons, former soldiers and their commanders, war deserters and the not-yet peace deserters, people who witnessed the bombing of Belgrade in 1999 – the multitudes of *the invisibles*, erased, excluded from the current political and economic context. From the poeticized shelter of the stage – like the Renaissance actors who were separated from the audience by an invisible gauze protecting them from the showers of rotten tomatoes – *the invisibles* are telling their own lives on the stage accompanied by the actors, dancers and musicians from the National Theatre in Belgrade, Brussels, New York and Skopje. The Western gaze is also present. Belgian actors – Flemish and Walloon participate side by side. They are the necessary distance, as well as naiveté, stereotypical thought and the "head-in-sand" acting of Europe which sometimes passively, other times actively, reveals its profound ignorance of the conflict by observing it as if from its own back yard or garden. The exemplary production of the National Theatre in Belgrade and for the first time the collaboration of two of the most important Belgian National Theatres – The Royal Flemish Theatre (Koninklijke Vlaamse Schouwburg) and the National Theatre of the Walloon-Brussels Community, Brussels (Théâtre National de la Communauté Française). Director: Lorent Wanson. The text, according to the words of *the invisibles:* by Ivana Momčilović. Translator on the stage: Ljubomir Jakić. Season: 2004/2005.







Fragmenti iz predstave *Rupe ili kada nismo bili svrstani* – Narodno pozorište Beograd u koprodukciji sa Kraljevskim flamanskim teatrom i Nacionalnim teatrom valonsko-briselske zajednice, Brisel. Sezona 2004/2005.

Fragments from the theatre play *Holes or When We Weren't Aligned* – coproduction of the National Theatre in Belgrade, The Royal Flemish Theatre (Koninklijke Vlaamse Schouwburg) and the National Theatre of the Walloon-Brussels Community, Brussels (Théâtre National de la Communauté Française). Season: 2004/2005.

Reditelj: Loran Vanson
Tekst (po rečima nevidljivih):
Ivana Momčilović – kolektiv E-I-Migrative
Prevodilac na sceni: Ljubomir Jakić
Kostim/scenografija/ grafičko oblikovanje: škart
Učesnici/učesnice: Ismet Konđeli, Arsen Afazi, Velji Keljmendi, Rusten Ramović, Srđan Savić Điđi, Ljubiša Kostić, Elvir Berišu, Orhan Seitoru, Ljiljana Mitrović, Saša Mitrović, Ana Mitrović, Daliborka Kostić, Ljubiša Kostić, Helena Kostić , Ana Kostić, Nena Nešković, Kosta Jakić, Fransoa Bukelar, Ljiljana Cincar, Mirjana Joković, Hana Jovčić, Sedrik le Gulven, Sofija Lebut, Boba Stojnić, Esma Redžepova, Aleksandra Dejanović, Ana Nesimovski

Director: Lorent Wanson
The text, according to the words of the invisibles:
Ivana Momčilović – Collective E-I-Migrative art
Translator on the stage: Ljubomir Jakić
Costumes/ stage design/ graphic design: škart
Participants: Ismet Konđeli, Arsen Afazi, Velji Keljmendi, Rusten Ramović, Srđan Savić Điđi, Ljubiša Kostić, Elvir Berišu, Orhan Seitoru, Ljiljana Mitrović, Saša Mitrović, Ana Mitrović, Daliborka Kostić, Ljubiša Kostić, Ana Kostić, Helena Kostić, Nena Nešković, Kosta Jakić, Francois Beukelaers, Ljiljana Cincar, Mirjana Joković, Hana Jovčić, Cedric le Goulven, Sophia Leboutte, Boba Stojnić, Esma Redžepova, Aleksandra Dejanović, Ana Nesimovski





Materijali iz predstave:
Rupe ili kada nismo bili svsrtani
Foto: Nemanja Knežević

Materials from the theatre play:
Holes or When We Weren't Aligned
Photo: Nemanja Knežević

NELAGODNOST

DISCOMFORT

Jusuf Hadžifejzović
NELAGODNOST

Bio sam izbjeglica iz Sarajeva u Belgiji kada sam 1994. za vrijeme trajanja rata u Bosni i Hercegovini dobio poziv od Petra Ćukovića, kuratora, i Nikole Petrovića, direktora Internacionalnog Bijenala, da uradim rad za Cetinjsko bijenale. Predložio sam da izvedem performans *Strah od pitke vode*, koji bi bio istinski susret s mojom porodicom, užom familijom i prijateljima, pošto se nismo vidjeli tri godine zbog ratnih zbivanja. Ova fotografija je dokument tog jedinog susreta, organizovanog u okviru pomenutog Bijenala. Performans sam izveo, ili susret se dogodio, u dvorištu nekadašnje ambasade Francuske, uz prisustvo brojne publike, od kojih su neki bili vidno uplakani. U predvorju ambasade pozirali smo Denisu Andersonu za fotografiju neposredno posle mog susreta s porodicom i prijateljima. Rože Vandala je uradio sitotisak sa fotografije, na kojoj je 27 osoba. Od 1994. do danas umrlo je šestoro ljudi s fotografije, uključujući moje roditelje.

S nelagodnošću se prisjećam tog vremena i pišem o tom radu.

Jusuf Hadžifejzović
DISCOMFORT

I was a refugee from Sarajevo in Belgium when in 1994, during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I received a phone call from the curator Petar Ćuković and Nikola Petrović, director of the International Biennale, to do a work for the Cetinje exhibition. I suggested the performance *Strah od pitke vode* [Fear of Drinking Water] which would be a meeting with my family, close relatives and friends, because we hadn't seen each other for three years because of the war. This photograph is a document of the sole encounter, organized by the Biennale. I performed/the meeting happened in the court of the former French embassy in front of a numerous audience, some of whom had started to cry. In the lobby of the embassy, we posed for Denis Anderson who took a photo just after my meeting with family and friends. Rože Vandala made a screen printing of the photograph with 27 people in it. Since 1994, slowly, 6 people have passed away, including my parents.

I feel discomfort remembering that time and writing about that work.

Jusuf Hadžifejzović
Strah od pitke vode
sitoštampa
64 x 70 cm
1994.
Kolekcija: Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Jusuf Hadžifejzović
Fear of Drinking Water
screen printing
64 x 70 cm
1994
Collection: Moderna galerija, Ljubljana


1/80 Fear of Drinkable Water, Performance, Cetinje
1994

TUGE

SADNESSES

škart
TUGE

tuga potencijalnih putnika

putnici
ne putuju.
nešto ih
odnosi
i donosi.
(premeštanje
nije putovanje.)
putnici
tužno putuju.
\''
beograd, decembra 1992.

tuga potencijalnog porekla

mamin
i tatin.
kao i ti.
(uostalom,
tu su i fotografije.)

tužno je
ako misle
istorijin i geografijin.
\'''
zagreb–beograd, marta 1993.

tuga potencijalnog povratka

vratili bi se.
ali.
(ako.)
ako tuga više ne počinje ovde.
ako tuga više ne počinje.
ovde.
\''
bez beograda, maja 1993.

škart

SADNESSES

the sadness of potential travelers

travelers
do not travel.
something
takes them away
and brings them back.
(changing places
is not travelling).
travellers
travel sadly.

last stop belgrade, december 1992

the sadness of potential geneology

belonging
to mummy and daddy.
like you.
(after all,
there are
photographs.)

it's sad
if they think
belonging to history and geography.

zagreb belgrade, march 1993

the sadness of potential return

they would come back.
but.
(if.)
if the sadness does not start here.
if the sadness does not start.
here.

without belgrade, may 1993



škart + Vesna Pavlović
Tuga potencijalnog putnika
ulična/stanična akcija, Železnička stanica Beograd
1993.
Foto: Vesna Pavlović

škart
Tuga potencijalnog putnika
sitoštampa na lepenci (crno-belo) i ručno pečatiran
tiraž: 50–200 (zavisno od prikupljenog novca)
1992–1993.

škart + Vesna Pavlović
The Sadness of Potential Travelers
street/train station event, Belgrade Railway Station
1993
Photo: Vesna Pavlović

škart
The Sadness of Potential Travelers
silk-print on cardboard (black and white) and hand stamped;
print-run: 50–200 (depending on collected money),
1992–93


tuga
potencijalnih
putnika
putnici
ne putuju.
nešto ih
odnosi
i donosi.
(premeštanje
nije putovanje.)
putnici
tužno putuju.
BEOGRAD
DECEMBRA
1 9 9 2

ČIŠĆENJE

CLEANSING

Udruženje *Kardan* – Jelena Grujić Zindović
ČIŠĆENJE

Period raspadanja SFRJ obeležila su (najmanje) četiri rata čija je devastirajuća snaga snažno i tragično uticala na živote ljudi na čitavom prostoru nekadašnje zemlje s nešto više od 20 miliona stanovnika. Ljudi, svedeni i grupisani u (najčešće etničke i/ili religijske) identitete, gubili su osobenosti, ličnosti, prava i imovinu susretom oči u oči s nekadašnjim sugrađanima SFRJ, ali u uniformama i s repetiranim oružjem. Istorija koja se danas na taj period od deset godina zvanično perpetuira u Srbiji značajno se razlikuje od realnosti tog doba u oblastima u kojima su se sukobi dešavali – uprkos činjenici da su ratovi za nasledstvo SFRJ verovatno neki od najdokumentovanijih međunarodnih sukoba u istoriji čovečanstva.

Ta disproporcija između stvarnih događaja i kolektivne matrice „sećanja" naročito se ispoljava kada je rat na Kosovu u pitanju. Kosovo (i Metohija, insistiraju profesionalni predstavnici kolektiva) prostor je pod posebnim emotivnim nabojem za građane srpske nacionalnosti. Sledstveno tome, činjenice u vezi s ratom na Kosovu najređe i najteže dopiru do većinske javnosti. Tako su iz zvaničnog narativa o događajima u toj oblasti s posebnom strašću izuzeta stradanja albanskog stanovništva. Istovremeno, stradanja srpskog stanovništva na Kosovu isticana su, ali i preuveličavana, kao „jedina istina".

Činjenica je da je područje Kosova opterećeno verovatno najkomplikovanijom istorijom prisilnih i voljnih migracija od svih drugih delova nekadašnje SFRJ. Rat na Kosovu 1998–99. godine kulminacija je tenzija između srpske i albanske etničke zajednice, koje su se „smenjivale" na pozicijama centra i periferije nebrojeno puta tokom više vekova suživota na toj teritoriji. Stoga statističke činjenice o razmerama stradanja obe zajednice u periodu devedesetih, tokom rata i u godinama nakon rata, pa i do danas, teško mogu reflektovati uzroke i posledice, kao i razmere počinjenih zločina bez uvođenja šireg i dubljeg istorijskog i političkog konteksta u vezi s rastakanjem čitavog područja SFRJ.

Neki brojevi ipak mogu biti smernice za razumevanje okvira rata 1998–99. Činjenica je da su migracije i albanskog i srpskog stanovništva s prostora Kosova (kao i drugih manjina, posebno romske) počele još tokom 1998. godine, odmah nakon početka najpre sporadičnih, a potom sve intenzivnijih sukoba. Činjenica je da su u danima koji su prethodili početku NATO intervencije (24. mart – 8. jun 1999) srpske oružane snage započele intenzivnu akciju progona albanskog stanovništva. Jedan deo snaga proterivao je Albance iz jugozapadnih delova Kosova, isterujući ljude iz kuća, i sprovodeći ih u kolonama ka Albaniji, Makedoniji i Crnoj Gori. Početak NATO bombardovanja obeležilo je i čišćenje, ili proterivanje „od vrata do vrata" Albanaca iz Prištine i drugih gradova na Kosovu. Takođe, veliki broj ljudi napuštao je svoje kuće i pre nego što bi ljudi s oružjem pokucali na njihova vrata. UNHCR je objavio da je u maju 1999. u zemljama prijema registrovano 957.913 izbeglica albanske nacionalnosti.

Po završetku NATO intervencije povlačenje srpskih oružanih snaga s Kosova pratile su kolone izbeglica srpske nacionalnosti. Raseljavanje srpskog stanovništva nastavljeno je i u godinama koje će uslediti – proterivanja i ciklična masovna i pojedinačna ubistva srpskih građana sprovodile su oružane snage albanske zajednice. Istovremeno, albansko stanovništvo se većim delom vratilo na Kosovo iz zemalja prijema. Ipak, taj period će obeležiti i ogroman odliv albanske populacije ka zemljama zapadne Evrope i SAD. Taj proces odliva ka „zapadu" nije bio nova pojava. Albanska dijaspora poreklom s Kosova sada je već tradicija, i igra veoma važnu ulogu u finansiranju kako svojih porodica na još uvek veoma siromašnom Kosovu, tako i u održavanju i ojačavanju institucija Kosova.

Migranti srpske nacionalnosti s Kosova zapravo nikada nisu imali status izbeglica u Srbiji, već status raseljenih lica. Veoma je teško, međutim, utvrditi koliko se Srba raselilo s Kosova usled rata na Kosovu, jer nadležne institucije države Srbije statistički obuhvataju sva lica koja su u Srbiju migrirala s Kosova od 1991. godine. Taj broj varira između 250 i 280.000 lica.

Kardan Association – Jelena Grujić Zindović
CLEANSING

The period of Yugoslavia's breakup was marked by (at least) four wars of such devastating force that profoundly and tragically affected the lives of people across the whole territory of the former country with a population of just over 20 million. People, reduced and grouped (most often) into ethnic and/or religious identities, lost their traits, personalities, rights and property upon meeting face to face with their former compatriots of the SFRY, who were now dressed in uniforms and carrying loaded weapons. The history of that ten-year period perpetuated in Serbia today, is significantly different from the reality of those times when the conflicts were taking place – despite the fact that the SFRY succession wars are probably among the most well documented international conflicts in human history.

Such a discrepancy between real events and the collective "memory" matrix is particularly obvious with regards to the war in Kosovo. Kosovo (and Metohija, as insisted upon by professional representatives of the collective) is a space of very particular emotional charge for Serbian nationals. Therefore, facts about the war in Kosovo are the least likely to reach the general public, and they do so with difficulty. Thus, the Albanian casualties are most vehemently excluded from the official narrative of events. At the same time, emphasis is placed on the suffering of the Serb population in Kosovo, although it is also exaggerated as the "only truth."

The fact is that, regarding the former SFRY, Kosovo may very well be the one area loaded with probably the most complicated history of forced and voluntary migration. The 1998-99 war in Kosovo is the culmination of tensions between Serbian and Albanian ethnic groups, which "alternated" the positions of center and periphery on many occasions and over many centuries of coexistence in the region. Therefore, statistical facts about the extent of the suffering of both communities in the 1990s, during and in the years after the war, and even to this day, can hardly reflect the causes and consequences, as well as the scale of the crimes committed, without introducing a broader and deeper historical and political context regarding the dismemberment of the entire territory of the SFRY.

Some numbers may nevertheless be guidelines for understanding the framework of the 1998-99 war. It is a fact that migrations of both Albanian and Serb populations from Kosovo (as well as other minorities, especially Roma) began as early as 1998, immediately after the onset of first sporadic and then increasingly intensified conflict. It is a fact that in the days leading up to the start of NATO's intervention (March 24 – June 8, 1999), the Serbian armed forces launched an intensive persecution of the Albanian population. Part of the forces expelled Albanians from the southwestern parts of Kosovo, evicting people from their homes and moving them to Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro. The start of the NATO bombardment also marked cleansing, or "door to door" persecution of Albanians from Priština and other towns in Kosovo. Also, many people left their homes before the men with weapons came knocking at their doors. The UNHCR reported that in May 1999, the receiving countries registered 957,913 Albanian refugees.

Following the end of NATO's intervention, the withdrawal of Serb armed forces from Kosovo was accompanied by lines of Serb refugees. The displacement of the Serbian population continued in the years to come – the expulsions and cyclical mass and individual killings of Serbian citizens were carried out by the armed Albanian forces. At the same time, the Albanian population largely returned to Kosovo from the receiving countries. However, that period will also be marked by a huge outflow of Albanians to Western Europe and the USA. This "westward" flow was not a new phenomenon. An Albanian diaspora, originally from Kosovo, is customary, and plays a particularly important role in financing both its families in the still very poor Kosovo, and in maintaining and strengthening Kosovo's institutions.

Interestingly, Kosovo's Serb migrants never gained refugee status, but were considered displaced persons. However, it is very difficult to determine how many Serbs have moved out of Kosovo as a result of the war in Kosovo, as the competent institutions of the state of Serbia statistically cover all persons who have migrated to Serbia from Kosovo since 1991. That number varies between 250 and 280 thousand people.





Vuk Branković
Stanovnici albanske nacionalnosti napuštaju Prištinu
april 1999.

Vuk Branković
Albanian nationals leaving Priština
April 1999





Vuk Branković
Stanovnici srpske nacionalnosti napuštaju Prištinu
jun 1999.

Vuk Branković
Serbian nationals leaving Priština
June 1999

DRUGI

OTHERS

Udruženje *Kardan* – Jelena Grujić Zindović
DRUGI

Apsurdno je, ali ipak, nedovoljno poznato da su se oružani sukobi, logori, progoni, pa i masovna ubistva, dešavali i na teritoriji same Srbije (mimo Kosova). Ti zločini ponajmanje su poznati stanovnicima Srbije, onima koji su srpske nacionalnosti.

Tokom 1992. i 1993. godine srpske i crnogorske oružane snage kontinuirano su napadale ili držale u opsadi oblast Sandžaka, preciznije, čitavu oblast na tromeđi Srbija–Crna Gora–Bosna i Hercegovina. U tom periodu dogodio se čitav niz ratnih zločina, od kojih oni na teritoriji današnje Srbije najvećim delom nisu ni procesuirani, a ni poznati široj javnosti, pa tako ni deo zvanične istorije.

Jedan od primera je selo Kukurovići u opštini Priboj, u Srbiji. To selo držao je pod opsadom Užički korpus (tadazvane) Vojske Jugoslavije od samog kraja 1992. godine iako u selu nije bilo nikakvih oružanih incidenata. Većina stanovnika napustila je Kukuroviće do februara 1993. godine. Kako je dokumentovao Sandžački odbor za ljudska prava (SOLJP), a potom i Fond za humanitarno pravo (FHP), selo je 18. februara 1993. minobacačkim napadima i artiljerijskom vatrom sravnjeno sa zemljom. Potom je pešadija upala u selo i spalila ono što je preostalo od nerazrušenih kuća. Ubijeni su Fatima Sarač (starica koja je pre ubistva i silovana i kojoj su polomljene obe ruke), Uzeir Bulutović i Mušan Husović.

FHP je u ime oštećenih vodio više parničnih postupaka za naknadu štete, ali su svi odbijeni kao zastareli. To je tradicionalna praksa srpskih sudova iako ratni zločin ne zastareva po međunarodnom humanitarnom pravu. Ipak, neki od oštećenih jesu dobili priznanje od države Srbije da se zločin dogodio. Vlada Srbije je 2012. godine usvojila dokument „Program za povratak Bošnjaka izbeglih i raseljenih iz opštine Priboj u periodu 1991–1999. godine", koji je potpisao tadašnji potpredsednik Vlade Srbije Ivica Dačić. „...Usvajanjem i realizacijom ovog Programa, Vlada Republike Srbije šalje jasnu poruku svim svojim građanima da se više nikada neće ponoviti proterivanje i iseljavanje njenih građana zbog pretnji, straha i objektivnih opasnosti po život kao što je to bilo u slučaju s građanima bošnjačke nacionalnosti iz opštine Priboj". To je za sada jedini zvanični dokument kojim vlasti u Srbiji priznaju etnički motivisane zločine. Obnovljeno je oko 200 kuća. Kukurovići su, međutim, i dalje pusti. FHP je dokumentovao da je iz oblasti Sandžaka proterano i/ili zlostavljano oko pet hiljada ljudi, a da je 31 osoba ubijena ili nestala.

Kardan Association – Jelena Grujić Zindović
OTHERS

It is absurd, but it is still not general knowledge that armed conflicts, camps, persecutions, and even massacres, occurred on the territory of Serbia proper (notwithstanding Kosovo). These crimes are by far the least familiar to Serbian citizens, those of Serbian nationality.

During 1992 and 1993, the Serbian and Montenegrin armed forces continuously attacked or besieged the Sandžak area; more precisely, the entire area at the Serbia-Montenegro-Bosnia & Herzegovina border. During this period, a whole series of war crimes were enacted, most of which, on the territory of present-day Serbia, have never been prosecuted, nor are they known to the general public. Therefore, these events are not part of official history.

A case in point is the village of Kukurovići, in the Priboj municipality of Serbia. From the very end of 1992, the village was held under siege by the Užice Corps (of the then Yugoslav Army), even though there were no armed incidents in the village. Most of the inhabitants of Kukurovići left the village by February 1993. As the Sandžak Committee for Human Rights (SOLJP, *Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda*) documented, and as it was also supported by the Humanitarian Law Center (FHP, *Fond za humanitarno pravo*), on February 18, 1993, the village was completely annihilated by mortar attacks and artillery fire. This was followed by the infantry's advance that burnt to the ground whatever remained of the standing houses. Fatima Sarač – an old woman who had been raped and whose arms had been broken prior to her being murdered – Uzeir Bulutović and Mušan Husović were killed.

The FHP conducted several civil actions for damages on behalf of the injured parties, but all were dismissed as obsolete. This is customary to the Serbian judiciary system, even though the cases are not obsolete according to international humanitarian law. Nonetheless, some of the injured parties were offered recognition by the Serbian state that the crime had taken place.

In 2012, the Government of Serbia adopted the document *Program for the Return of Bosniak Refugees and Displaced Persons from the Municipality of Priboj for the Period 1991–1999*, which was signed by the then Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, Ivica Dačić: "[...] By adopting and implementing this Program, the Government of the Republic of Serbia sends a clear message to all its citizens that the expulsion and emigration of its citizens will never be repeated due to intimidation, fears and objective threats to life, as was the case with the Bosniak citizens from the Priboj municipality." For the time being, this is the only official document of the Serbian authorities recognizing ethnically motivated crimes. Approximately 200 homes have been renovated. The cornfields, however, remain desolate. The FHP has documented that about 5,000 people were expelled and/or abused in the Sandžak area and that 31 people were killed or have disappeared.



Udruženje *Kardan* – Jelena Grujić Zindović

Kardan Association – Jelena Grujić Zindović


Udruženje *Kardan* – Jelena Grujić Zindović
DRUGI
The Kardan Association – Jelena Grujić Zindović
OTHERS

KUĆA ILI DOM

HOUSE OR HOME

Vojvođanski građanski centar
KUĆA ILI DOM

Ratna dešavanja na području Hrvatske, vešto kombinovana s propagandnom mašinerijom medija pod apsolutnom kontrolom tadašnjeg režima, stvorila su atmosferu straha i neizvesnosti, u kojoj je moglo da počne unapred zamišljeno nacionalno (re)programiranje Vojvodine, odnosno Srema. U takvom vremenu, mnoge reči i imena izgubili su svoje dojučerašnje značenje, istrgnut im je kontekst.

Pretnje, nasilje i proterivanje nazvao je humanim preseljenjem glavni pokretač ovog bezumnog projekta, osuđeni ratni zločinac i aktivni član Parlamenta Republike Srbije. Ratnoprofiterske grupe koje su dobit sticale udelom u razmeni nekretnina Srba iz Hrvatske i Hrvata iz Srbije postale su agencije, a najpoznatija od njih nosila je ime Lasta. Tako jednostavno i nežno – Lasta, ptica kojoj je u prirodi da se seli. To je verovatno prvo što svi nauče o lastama. Čak su i Hrtkovci, selo u kome je javno rečeno da u Vojvodini ima nepodobnih, nakratko postali Srbislavci. Sve što se nekako zvalo i znalo mu se značenje, postalo je relativno. Država za koju si mislio da je tvoja, više to nije morala biti. Posao na koji si odlazio godinama, takođe. Tvoja kuća, mesto koje zoveš dom? Možda više nije tvoja. Tvoje ime, više nije samo ime.

Do kraja 1995. veliki broj građana hrvatske nacionalnosti proteran je s područja Srema.

Ja sam tamo imao dom. Nisu dom i kuća isto, a ljudi misle da jesu. Za razliku od nekih, ja bar ovde (u Hrvatskoj) imam ovu kuću i u njoj čekam da umrem. Dom sam imao tamo u Rumi.

Tomislav Gajger

Vojvodina Civic Centre
HOUSE OR HOME

The wartime events in Croatia, skillfully combined with the media's propaganda machinery under the absolute control of the regime at the time, created an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty which paved the way to the premeditated national (re)programming of Vojvodina, that is, the Srem region. In such times, many words and names lost their previous meanings – they were taken out of their context.

Threats, violence and expulsion were termed "humane resettlement" by the leading instigator of this mindless project, convicted war criminal and active member of the Parliament of Republika Srpska. War-profiteering groups that benefited from partaking in the exchange of real-estate owned by Serbs from Croatia and Croats from Serbia became agencies and the most famous of them was called *Lasta* [t/n: swallow]. So simply and delicately – *lasta* – a bird known for its migratory nature. This is probably the first thing people learn about swallows. Even the village of Hrtkovci, a place where it was publicly declared that there are those ill-suited to live in Vojvodina, for a short while became Srbislavci [t/n: etymologically linked to Serbs/Slavs].

The names and meanings for most things became relative. The country you thought was your own, was no longer necessarily so; the job that you went to for years, neither. Your house, the place you call home? It might not be yours anymore. Your name is not just a name.

By 1995 a large portion of Croat nationals were expelled from the area of Srem.

I had a home there. A home and a house are not the same, yet people think they are. Unlike some, I at least have this house here where I'm waiting to die. A home was what I had back in Ruma.

Tomislav Gajger

Željko Stanetić, Vojvođanski građanski centar
Nepodobni građani
kadar iz dokumentarnog filma
2018.

Željko Stanetić, Vojvodina Civic Center
Ineligible Citizens
documentary film frame
2018


when they started to receive
frequent threatening telephone calls,
that we have nothing to look for in Vojvodina anymore,

KARTA U JEDNOM PRAVCU

ONE-WAY TICKET

Milena Maksimović

KARTA U JEDNOM PRAVCU

Ljudi-roba-ljudi-roba – 'tableau-vivant' robne cirkulacije... ima li ičega osim ravnodušnosti?

Kineski državljani počeli su masovno da dolaze u Jugoslaviju 1997. godine pošto je bivši predsednik SRJ Slobodan Milošević posetio Kinu. Njegova uticajna supruga Mira Marković oduševljena životom „bratske" i komunističke Kine, lansirala je ideju o Kineskoj četvrti u Beogradu.

Beograd je uvek bio kosmopolitski grad... a ovo je skroman doprinos naporima da postane jedna od svetskih prestonica... ne samo formalno nego i stvarno.

(dr Mira Marković, 1996. godine)

Beograd još uvek nije postao svetska prestonica iako danas u Srbiji, po slobodnim procenama medija, živi oko 40.000 Kineza. Zvaničnih podataka nema.

Beogradski list „Večernje novosti" navodi da su se svi stanovnici kineskog sela Ćing Tjen, u provinciji Ce Jiang, preselili u Beograd! Tačnije, svi su se smestili u novobeogradski blok 70, gde prodaju jeftinu robu široke potrošnje, dok je kinesko selo, kako tvrde njegovi bivši stanovnici, ostalo pusto.

Nekima od njih su plaćene vozne karte u jednom pravcu samo da se isele iz Kine, ali je većina migrirala na ove prostore „jer u Srbiji ima više mogućnosti nego u Kini".

Pitanje mogućnosti je, naravno, uvek ambivalentno i projektivno, a pitanje svakonevnog života kineske zajednice u Beogradu prožeto različitim oblicima klasne, rasne i pravne izopštenosti.

Ovaj rad govori o tome.

Milena Maksimović
ONE-WAY TICKET

People-goods-people-goods – 'tableau vivant' of the circulation of goods... is there anything besides indifference?

Chinese nationals began arriving in greater numbers to Yugoslavia in 1997, following SRJ [Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia] president Slobodan Milošević's visit to China. His influential wife Mira Marković – enthralled by life in "fraternal" and communist China – launched the idea of creating a "Chinatown" in Belgrade.

Belgrade was always a cosmopolitan city... and this is a modest contribution in its efforts to become one of the world capitals... not merely formally, but in reality.

(Mira Marković, 1996)

Belgrade has not yet become a world capital, even though, according to broad estimates, around 40,000 Chinese live in Serbia today. However, there is no official data.

The Belgrade-based paper *Večernje Novosti* claims that all inhabitants of the Chinese village of Qing Tian in the Zhejiang province have moved to Belgrade! More precisely, all of them have moved to New Belgrade's Block 70 where they sell cheap consumer goods, leaving the village, according to its former inhabitants, deserted.

Some of them were paid one-way tickets just to move out of China, but most migrated to this part of the world "because there are more opportunities in Serbia than in China."

The question of opportunity is, of course, always ambivalent, and projective, and everyday life of the Chinese community in Belgrade is imbued with different forms of class, racial and legal exclusions.

This is what this artwork is about.





Milena Maksimović
Karta u jednom pravcu
serija fotografija
2004.
Ljubaznošću: Milan Maksimović

* Za potrebe izložbe realizovana audio-vizuelna instalacija.
Zvuk: Vladimir Jerić Vlidi (na osnovu audio-beleške Milene Maksimović)
Vizuelna sekvenca: Jelena Vesić i Vesna Pavlović
2019.





Milena Maksimović
One-Way Ticket
photo series
2004.
Courtesy of: Milan Maksimović

* The audio-visual installation was commissioned for the exhibition.
Sound: Vladimir Jerić Vlidi (based on an audio-note by Milena Maksimović)
Visual sequence: Jelena Vesić and Vesna Pavlović
2019

JUGOSLOVENSTVO

YUGOSLAVISM

Vahida Ramujkić
JUGOSLOVENSTVO

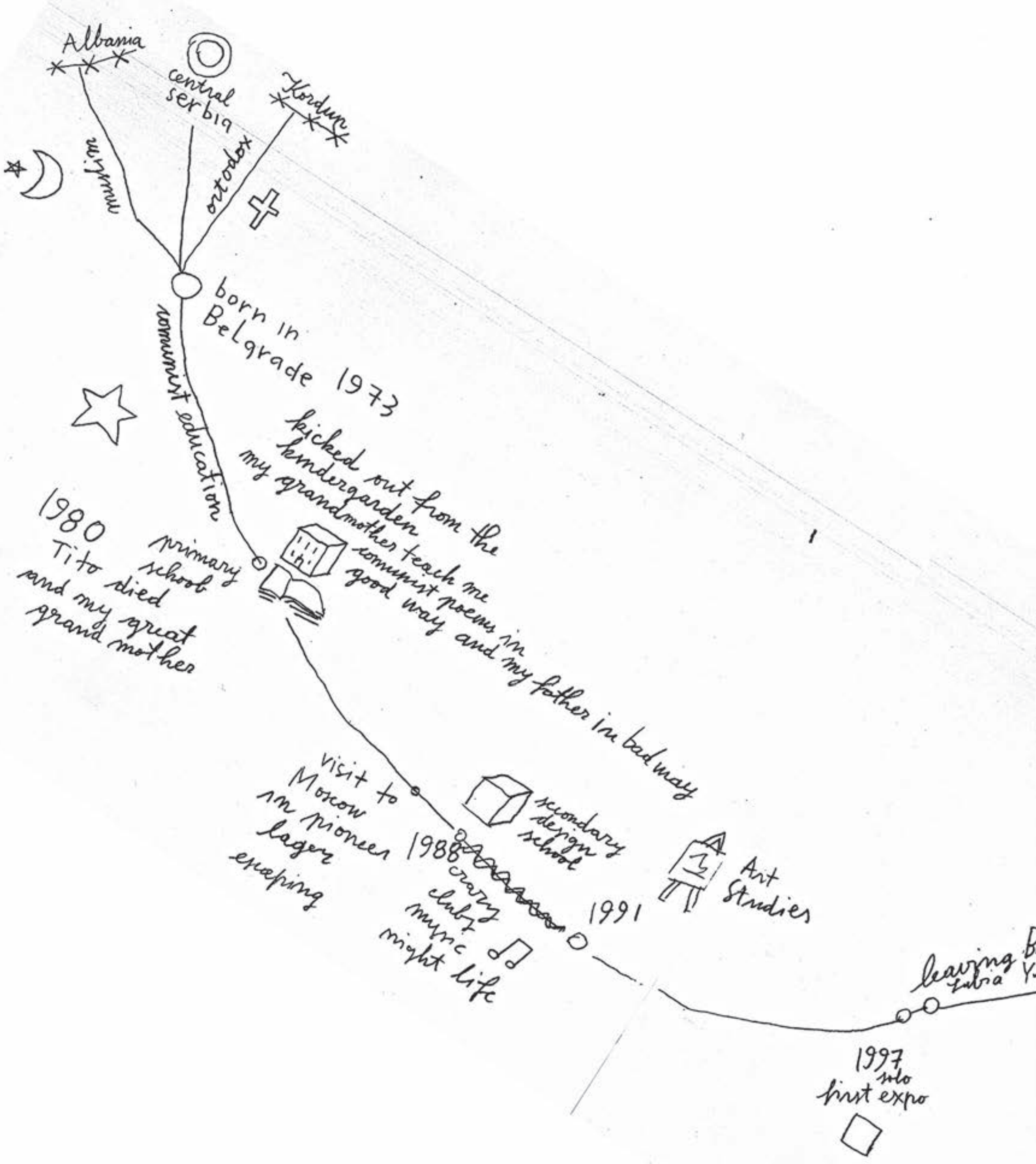
Funkcija revidiranja, odnosno proizvodnje novih istorijskih narativa u čvrstoj je sprezi s uspostavljanjem dominantnih proizvodnih i društvenih odnosa koje treba da podrže. Funkcija narativa koji su se od početka 90-ih plasirali i normalizovali putem nastavnih programa elementarnog i višeg obrazovanja u svojim rezimiranim verzijama na čitavom jugoslovenskom prostoru, bila je upravo proizvodnja (slike) realnosti po kojoj je regresija na kapitalističke društvene odnose bila neminovna, a nastavak onih socijalističkih nezamisliv. Za to je bilo potrebno generisati novi društveno-politički subjekt, koji će biti i osnovni nosilac kardinalno izmenjenih društvenih odnosa, koji će se, štaviše, dobrovoljno, sa romantičarskim zanosom, angažovati za ili bar podržavati odnose na kojima ovaj poredak počiva, tj. odnose eksploatacije, privatizacije, diskriminacije itd. pre svega bivajući i sam potčinjen svođenjem svog identiteta na puku etničku pripadnost. Ova pre-identifikacija društvenih subjekata zahtevala je izmenu i istorijskih subjekata, te je jedan od najvažnijih instrumenata za dezintegraciju jugoslovenske zajednice bilo koncipiranje istorijskog narativa iz partikularnih lokalno dominantnih nacionalno-etničkih vizura.

Kada se radi, na primer, o izmenama u demografskoj kompoziciji stanovništva na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije tokom ratova 90-ih, uporedno sagledavanje tadašnjih udžbenika bivših republika nedvosmisleno će nam pokazati kako se kroz pristrasno iznesene podatke merene novom nacionalno-etničkom metrikom proizvodi i homogenizacija dominantnog društvenog i istorijskog kolektivnog subjekta, u kome – kao po nekom začudo zajedničkom uputstvu i cilju – više neće biti mesta za jugoslovenstvo.

Vahida Ramujkić
YUGOSLAVISM

The revision, that is, production of new historical narratives is closely tied with establishing dominant production and social relations that they must uphold. Narratives which were promoted and normalized during the 1990s through elementary and higher education syllabi, in their summarized versions across the territories of Yugoslavia, was exactly the production of an (image of a) reality according to which regressing to capitalist social relations was inevitable, and the continuation of socialist ones unimaginable. For these reasons it was necessary to generate a new socio-political subject which would also be the basic bearer of fundamentally altered social relationships. One that would, moreover, voluntarily, with romantic fervor, engage in or at least support the relationships on which this order rests, i.e. exploitation, privatization, discrimination, etc. foremostly, being subordinate to reducing ones identity to mere ethnicity. This re-identification of social entities also required the modification of historical subjects. Furthermore, one of the most important instruments of the disintegration of the Yugoslav community was the conceptualization of historical narratives from particular, locally dominant, national-ethnic stand points.

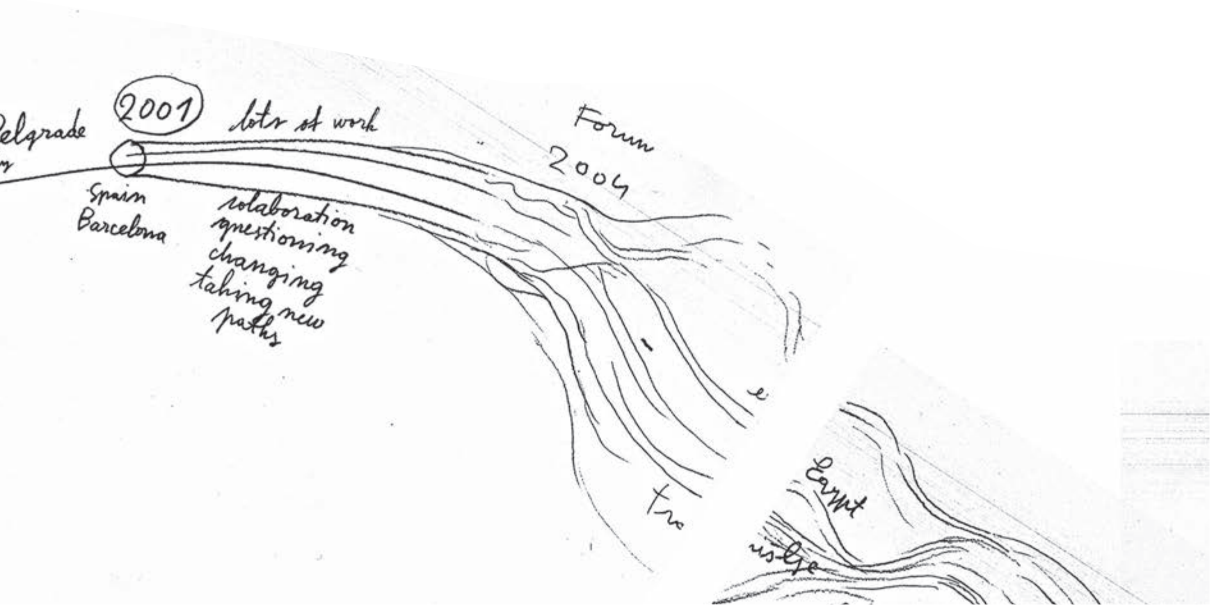
With regard to the changing demographic composition of the population on the territory of the former Yugoslavia during the war of the nineties, the comparison of textbooks from different former Yugoslav republics used at the time, unequivocally discloses that biased data resulting from the new nationalist-ethnic metrics produced also the homogenization of the dominant social and historical collective subject, in which – as if by some strange shared instruction manual and goal – there would be no room for Yugoslavism.



Vahida Ramujkić
Istorije u raspravi
instalacija
2007–2019.

Vahida Ramujkić,
Disputed Histories
installation
2007–2019





elgrade
2001
lots of work
Forum
2004
Spain
Barcelona
colaboration
questioning
changing
taking new
paths
Egypt

KOMPJUTERSKO ČIŠĆENJE

UZALUDNA NADA

COMPUTER CLEANSING

VAIN HOPE

Čedomir Vasić

KOMPJUTERSKO ČIŠĆENJE / UZALUDNA NADA

Nastanak prostorne slike, odnosno ambijentalne celine *Put u Oz* 1997. proistekao je iz konkretnih iskustava građanskog rata u Jugoslaviji devedesetih godina 20. veka. Dokument koji na univerzalan i upečatljiv način govori o tom razdoblju naše istorije je 23. poglavlje prve knjige Tukididove *Istorije (Peloponeskih ratova)*, korišćeno kao predgovor za izložbu „Klijina Bašta" novembra 1992. godine. Štampane, eletronske i digitalne slike koje smo tada gledali bile su samo puka ilustracija ovog teksta.

Ratne strahote podudarile su se s razvojem računarske tehnologije i širenjem interneta u našem okruženju, što je odigralo presudnu ulogu u medijskoj propagandi i određivanju karaktera sukoba i krivice jedne od sukobljenih strana. U međunarodnoj javnosti uveden je termin „etničko čišćenje" – *ethnic cleansing*, kojim se pripremao teren za „humana" preseljenja i prekomponovanje određenih teritorija naseljenih različitim etničkim grupama. S pojačanim dejstvom elektronskih i digitalnih sredstava, postalo je očigledno da se ne radi samo o falsifikovanju aktuelnih događaja nego o nameri da se poništi pamćenje i ukine sećanje na mnogo dublje slojeve i vrednosti (istorijske, identitetske) određene populacije. Iz takvog osećanja i iskustva iskristalisao se termin i postupak „kompjutersko čišćenje" (*computer cleansing*) kao odgovor negiranju i uništavanju bilo čijeg duhovnog nasleđa. Primenjen na našu likovnu baštinu, nagovestio je ne samo vreme postistine nego i relativnost bilo kog saznanja i doživljaja, karakterističnu za dominaciju kompjuterskog mišljenja i odlučivanja u svim ljudskim pregnućima.

Prisilno iseljavanje, bekstvo kao spasavanje gole fizičke egzistencije koje prikazuju *Seoba Srba* ili fotografije kolona izbeglih od „Oluje", međutim, svedoče o definitivnom odlasku, napuštanju i neminovnom gubitku fizičkih, psiholoških, društvenih, duhovnih, mitskih, istorijskih i nacionalnih korena. *Put u Oz* kao večita nada i traženje sreće na nekom drugom mestu pokazuje se kao iznevereno očekivanje boljeg sutra i obeležje mnogih lutanja, kao i najnovije „seobe naroda" čiji smo svedoci poslednjih godina. Zato je pojam koji određuje suštinu ovog rada „uzaludna nada".

*

Od pređašnjih ratova najveći beše Persijski, ali i on je brzo odlučen u dvema bitkama na moru i kopnu. Međutim ovaj rat toliko se odužio i Grčka je za to vreme toliko patnji podnela, koliko nikada nije u istom vremenskom periodu. Jer, nikada toliko zauzetih gradova nije bilo opustošeno, bilo od varvara, bilo od međusobno zaraćenih strana (a bilo je i onih gradova gde je pri zauzimanju promenjeno i stanovništvo), niti je ikada bilo toliko izbeglica i krvoprolića što zbog samog rata, što zbog nesloge. Priče koje su se ranije mogle čuti, a koje su veoma retko bile potkrepljene dokazima, postale su stvarnost: zemljotresi su zahvatili ogromna prostranstva i bili su neobično snažni, pomračenja sunca kojih se niko nije sećao da su bila tako česta, velike suše i glad koja ih je pratila, a naročito su pogubne bile zaraze koje su harale; sve se to zajedno sa tim ratom sručilo u isti mah.

Tukidid, *Istorija*, I, 23

Preveo sa starogrčkog: Miroslav Vukelić

Čedomir Vasić
COMPUTER CLEANSING / VAIN HOPE

The making of the spatial image, i.e. ambiance work *Journey to Oz* in 1997, stemmed from concrete experiences of the 1990s civil war in Yugoslavia. The document that reflects this phase of our history in a universal and striking manner is the 23rd Chapter of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War,* which served as an introduction to the exhibition *Klijina bašta* (Klija's Garden) held in November 1992. The printed, electronic and digital images we observed at the time were merely an illustration of this text.

The war horrors coincided with the expansion of computer technology and the Internet in this part of the world, which played a crucial role in media propaganda and the determination of the character of the conflict and guilt for one of the contested sides. The international public was introduced to the term "ethnic cleansing," which was to pave the way for the "humane" resettlement and recomposition of certain territories inhabited by different ethnic groups. With the growth of impact of electronic and digital tools, it became obvious that it was not merely a matter of falsifying current events, but also the intent to destroy memory and terminate remembrance of more profound (historical, identity) layers and values of a population. Such a feeling and experience led to the crystallization of the term and procedure "computer cleansing", as a response to the negation and destruction of anyone's spiritual heritage. Applied to local visual art heritage, it foreshadowed not only the times of post-truth, but also the relative nature of any understanding and experience, a trait of the domination of computer thought and decision-making in all human endeavors.

Nevertheless, forced eviction, exile in an attempt to save one's bare physical existence represented in *The Great Migrations of the Serbs* or the photographs of convoys of refugees fleeing *Operation Storm,* testify to the definitive departure, leaving behind and the unavoidable loss of physical, psychological, social, spiritual, mythical, historical and national roots. *Journey to Oz* as eternal hope and search for happiness in some other place reveals itself as the betrayal of the expectation for a better tomorrow and the hallmark of many wanderings, as well as the most recent "people's migrations," which we are witness to in the last few years. This is why the concept that defines the essence of this work is "vain hope".

*

The Peloponnesian War was prolonged to an immense length, and, long as it was, it was short without parallel for the misfortunes that it brought upon Hellas. Never had so many cities been taken and laid desolate, here by the barbarians, here by the parties contending (the old inhabitants being sometimes removed to make room for others); never was there so much banishing and blood-shedding, now on the field of battle, now in the strife of faction.Old stories of occurrenceshanded down by tradition, but scantily confirmed by experience,suddenly ceased to be incredible; there were earthquakes ofunparalleled extent and violence; eclipses of the sun occurred with afrequency unrecorded in previous history; there were great droughtsin sundry places and consequent famines, and that most calamitousand awfully fatal visitation, the plague. All this came upon them with the late war.

Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book I, Chapter I

translated by Richard Crawley



Čedomir Vasić
Put u Oz
ambijentalna postavka, video, zvuk
1997.

Čedomir Vasić
Journey to Oz
ambience installation, video, sound
1997



ZEMLJA / TERITORIJA

COUNTRY / TERRITORY

Vahida Ramujkić + Dionis Eskorsa

ZEMLJA / TERITORIJA

Usled oružanih sukoba devedesetih godina, malo mesto u Kordunu – selo Primišlje gde je smešten glavni deo radnje filma i njegovo okruženje – u prvi mah biva depopulizovano od strane jednog dela svog stanovništva („Hrvata”), da bi nakon par godina po njihovom povratku ostalo bez svog drugog dela („Srba”). Međutim, po uspostavljanju nove vlasti „prvih”, na povratak „drugih” moraće da se sačeka još narednih desetak i više godina kako bi se se za to stvorili „elementarni” uslovi. Kada se neki od „drugih” već u poodmakloj životnoj dobi odluče za povratak u svoj rodni kraj, oni će se susresti s jednim posve izmenjenim krajolikom koji je u međuvremenu ostao prepušten svetu prirode, da preuzme nekad stečene „civilizacijske tekovine”. U ratom razrušenim porodičnim kućama i lokalnim administrativnim zgradama iždžikljala su stabla i prekrili ih bršljani, na oštećenim spomenicima, memorijalnim pločama više se ne razaznaju imena palih boraca i žrtava iz prethodnih ratova, putevi i staze su zarasli u šiblje i visoku travu, divlje životinje su proširile svoja staništa, a jednom kultivisane voćke su se vratile svom divljem rastu.

Predmet ovog rada je istraživanje odnosa između prirode i društva u situaciji kada su društveni odnosi dovedeni do svojih dramatičnih ekstrema.

Vahida Ramujkić + Dionis Escorsa
COUNTRY / TERRITORY

Because of the 1990s armed conflicts, a small town in Kordun – the village of Primišlje and its vicinity where most of the film takes place – first lost one part of its population ("the Croats") and a few years after their return, a second part ("the Serbs"). However, with the establishment of a new government led by the "former," the "latter" had to wait for over ten years to return, that is, before "elementary" conditions were met. When some of the "latter/others" who were already in the later part of their life decided to return to their place of birth, they encountered a completely changed landscape, which had, in the meantime, been left to the workings of nature that has taken hold of formerly acquired "civilizational achievements."

The family homes and local administrative buildings that were devastated by the war now have trees growing in them and are covered in ivy. The names of soldiers who gave their lives in previous wars are no longer legible on the desecrated monuments and memorial plaques. The roads and paths are overgrown in hedgerow, wild animals have colonized the surplus area, and the once cultivated fruit trees have retracted to an undomesticated state.

This work focuses on investigating the relationship between nature and society in situations when social relations have been pushed to their dramatic extremes.




Vahida Ramujkić / Dionis Eskorsa
Oluja i povratak kući II
serija fotografija, video
2019.

Vahida Ramujkić / Dionis Escorsa
Storm and Return Home II
photo series, video
2019




TRANSFER

TRANSFER

Nikola Radić Lucati

TRANSFER

Potreba za nacionalnom samoidentifikacijom i homogenizacijom u evropskim društvima nakon Prvog svetskog rata naišla je na prvu praktičnu političku metodologiju koja je uvela postkolonijalne i pronacističke političke prakse – transfer stanovništva. Prisilna razmena stanovništva putem političkih i ekonomskih dogovora transferizma postala je kamen-temeljac za sve buduće derivative: unilateralna masovna proterivanja, holokaust, kao i masovne getoizacije i etnička čišćenja, i za različite oblike genocida, posle Drugog svetskog rata.

Brutalni transferi stanovništva između Turske i Grčke, kao i transferi iz Rumunije u Bugarsku, predstavljali su presedan za Sporazum Ribentrop–Molotov, koji je inspirisao srpskog nacionalistu i bivšeg člana Mlade Bosne Vasu Čubrilovića da napiše memorandum *Iseljavanje Arnauta.* Memorandum se zalaže za iseljenje 200.000 Albanaca iz Kraljevine Jugoslavije u Tursku. Zbog toga je Stojadinovićeva vlada u dve godine pre raspada Kraljevine Jugoslavije morala da uloži velike diplomatske napore. Mnogo kasnije, na samom početku devedesetih godina, Čubrilović je, kao član Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, bio upleten u pripreme SANU za razjedinjenje Jugoslavije, uvođenjem novih transferističkih politika Slobodana Miloševića. Ovaj luk neofašističkog narativa naišao je na suprotstavljanje mnogih akademika koji su platili cenu svog otpora nacionalizmu: Gojko Nikoliš, Bogdan Bogdanović i Pavle Savić, između ostalih. Dugovečnost i politička biografija Čubrilovića formiraju nit koja povezuje eru kolonijalizma (napore Nikole Pašića da izvrši aneksiju Drača pre Prvog svetskog rata), transferizam (njegov lični i plan Srpske vlade), socijalizam (s povratkom internih neokolonijalnih tendencija u vreme socijalizma osamdesetih godina) i njegove posledice (vreme Miloševića), sve do Čubrilovićeve smrti 1990. godine.

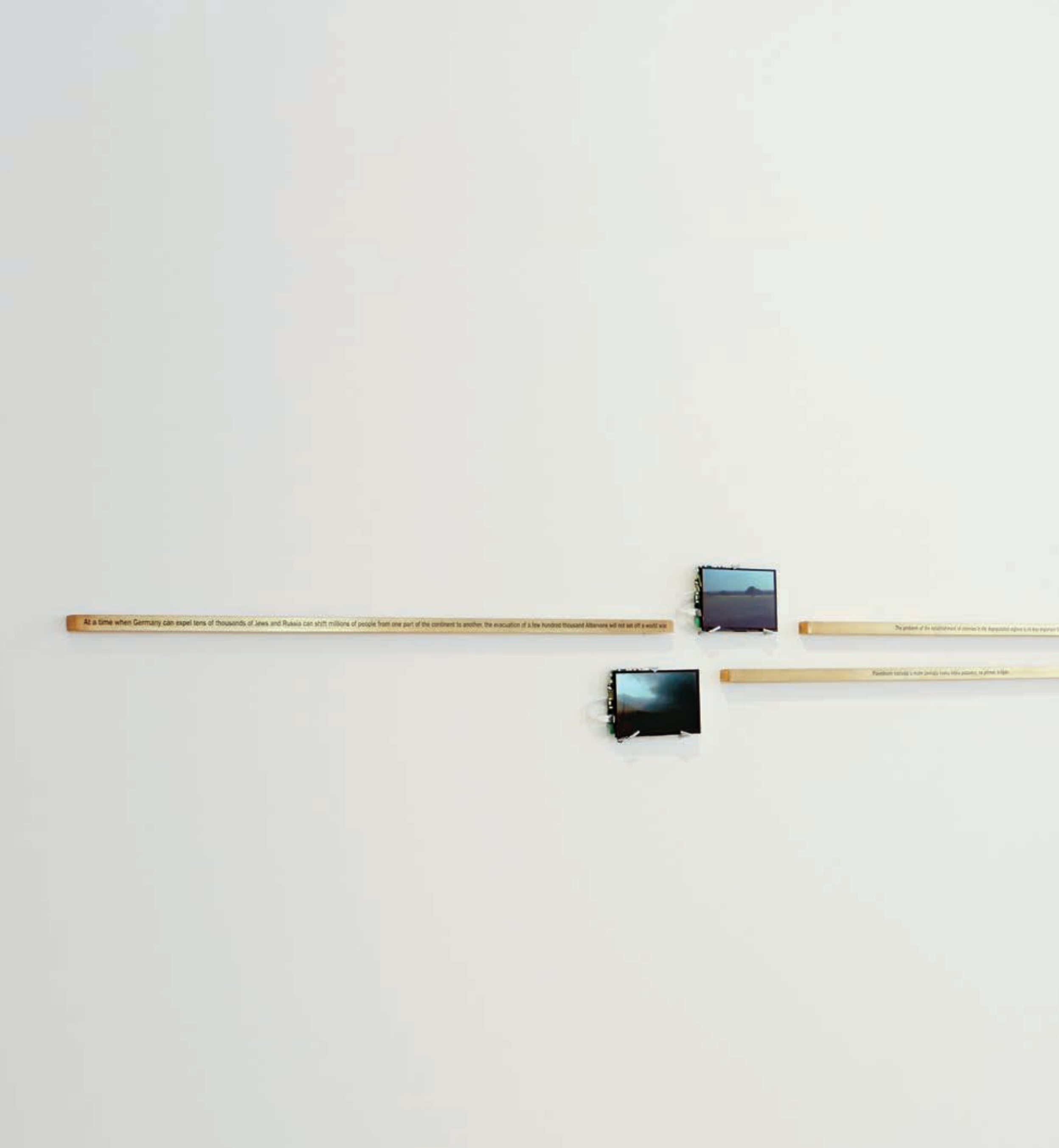
Rad prati ključne tačke Čubrilovićevih političkih stavova prema Albancima i apel osuđen na propast koji je general Nikoliš uputio Srbima u Hrvatskoj da se odupru ratnohuškačkim pozivima Miloševićevog režima. Sadašnje realnosti napuštanja naroda u pokušaju da se sačuva i ponovo aktivira politički narativ transferizma predstavljaju temu mog rada.

Nikola Radić Lucati
TRANSFER

The need for national self-determination and homogenization in post-World War I European societies has brought about the first practical political methodology which introduced post-colonial and proto-Nazi political practices – population transfer. Forced population exchanges through transferist political and economic agreements have become the touchstone for all their later derivatives: unilateral mass-expulsions, the Holocaust, as well as their continuation post-World War II in the form of mass ghettoization, ethnic cleansing, as well as the various instances of genocide.

The brutal population transfer between Turkey and Greece, as well as transfers from Romania and Bulgaria, have set a precedent for the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, and inspired Serbian nationalist and former "Young Bosnia" member – Vaso Čubrilović, to pen the memorandum *Iseljavanje Arnauta* [The Relocation of the Arnauts/Albanians], advocating the expulsion of over 200,000 Albanians from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to Turkey. This caused the diplomatic efforts of Stojadinović's government in the two years predating the fall of the Yugoslav Kingdom (1941). Much later, on the eve of the 1990s, Čubrilović was to be involved, as a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU), in this institution's preparation for the partition of Yugoslavia, ushering the new transferist policies of Slobodan Milošević. This arc of the neo-fascist narrative was opposed by many academics, who suffered the consequences for their resistance to nationalism – Gojko Nikoliš, Bogdan Bogdanović and Pavle Savić among others. The lengthy lifespan and political biography of Čubrilović provides a thread connecting the age of colonialism (attempts made by Nikola Pašić to annex Durrës pre-World War I), transferism (his own and the Serbian government's plan), socialism (with the return of internal neo-colonial tendencies under 1980's socialism), and its aftermath (the Milošević era) up until Čubrilović's death in 1990.

The work traces the key points of Čubrlović's political attitude towards Albanians and General Nikoliš's doomed call to Serbs in Croatia to resist the warmongering beckoning's of Milošević's regime. The present realities of the abandonment of the people in a bid to preserve and re-activate the political narratives of transferism are the subject of my work.



Nikola Radić Lucati
Etnomimikrija
mesing, gravira, fotografija
2019.
Foto: Nikola Radić Lucati

Nikola Radić Lucati
Ethnomimicry
brass, engraving, photography
2019
Photo: Nikola Radić Lucati



Prateći tekstovi

Accompanying texts




Sarajevo
Osijek
Zagreb

Dijaspora

Ministarstvo dijaspore i vera Republike Srbije donelo je 2009. godine Zakon o dijaspori i Srbima u regionu („Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije", br. 88/09). Zakonom se definišu noseći pojmovi: *dijaspora* obuhvata „državljane Republike Srbije koji žive u inostranstvu i pripadnike srpskog naroda iseljenike sa teritorije Republike Srbije", dok *Srbi u regionu* uključuju „pripadnike srpskog naroda koji žive u Republici Sloveniji, Republici Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini, Crnoj Gori, Republici Makedoniji, Rumuniji, Republici Albaniji i Republici Mađarskoj". Prema toj definiciji, a po poslednjim podacima Ministarstva, procenjuje se da ima ukupno oko 4,5 miliona „pripadnika dijaspore i Srba u regionu". Najčešće zemlje destinacije su SAD, Nemačka, Austrija, Kanada, Australija, Francuska i Švajcarska, i prema popisu iz 2002. u navedenim zemljama boravi skoro 70% ukupnog stanovništva sa srpskim državljanstvom u inostranstvu.

Jedan od najmasovnijih imigracionih talasa iz Srbije nastupio je upravo devedesetih godina. Ekonomski krah, nestabilna polička situacija, kao i želja da se izbegne mobilizacija i učestvuje u razornim ratnim sukobima, doprineli su brzom porastu trenda iseljavanja. Ipak, nema preciznih podataka o broju i strukturi populacije koja je tada trajno ili privremeno napustila zemlju, a isti problem sa statističkim podacima imaju i ostale republike koje su činile prostor SFRJ. Prema podacima Komeserijata za izbeglice i migracije RS iz prvog Migracionog profila (2010) „u popisu iz 2002. evidentirano je 414.839 lica na radu ili boravku u inostranstvu, što predstavlja 5,3% ukupnog stanovništva tadašnje Republike Srbije (u zemlji i inostranstvu). Time je broj državljana Republike Srbije na radu/boravku u inostranstvu povećan za 54,2% u odnosu na 1991. godinu." Veruje se da je ukupan broj bio dramatično veći, budući da evidencija emigranata u SR Jugoslaviji devedesetih nije bila obavezna. Prema podacima UNHCR-a, u periodu između 1990. i 1999. godine, iz Srbije se iselilo oko 1.659.270 lica koja su dobila status izbeglice ili azilanta.

Značajno je dodati da je vrlo rano formiran konsenzus koji se održao do danas, prema kojem je talas iseljavanja devedesetih iz Srbije tretiran u prvom redu kao tzv. *odliv mozgova*. To potvrđuje i odluka Savezne vlade da 1993. usvoji Rezoluciju o politici naučno-tehnološkog razvoja, kojom je obuhvaćen i Program povratka i korišćenja emigracije iz odliva mozgova. Na osnovu reprezentativnog istraživanja domaćinstava iz 1994, koje se navodi u Studiji o spoljnim i unutrašnjim migracijama građana Srbije, smatra se da je iz Srbije samo između 1990. i 1994. emigriralo oko 30.000 visokoobrazovanih lica, odnosno ukupno oko 220.000 mladih svih obrazovnih profila, starosti 15–34 godine. Oficijelne državne strategije i danas potvrđuju da se „dijaspora i Srbi u regionu" u prvom redu tretira kao resurs koji treba eksploatisati u cilju podsticanja ekonomskog i privrednog razvoja Republike Srbije.

Diaspora

In 2009, the Ministry of Diaspora and Faiths of the Republic of Serbia adopted the Law on Diaspora and Serbs in the Region (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 88/09). The law defines the key terms: the diaspora includes "citizens of the Republic of Serbia living abroad and Serbian people who have emigrated from the territory of the Republic of Serbia", while Serbs in the region include "the Serbian people living in the Republic of Slovenia, the Republic of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, the Republic of Macedonia, Romania, the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Hungary." According to this definition, and according to the latest data from the Ministry, it is estimated that there are a total of about 4.5 million "members of the Diaspora and Serbs in the region". The most common destination countries are the USA, Germany, Austria, Canada, Australia, France and Switzerland, and according to the 2002 census, nearly 70% of the total population holding Serbian citizenship abroad resides in these countries.

One of the most massive waves of immigration from Serbia occurred in the 1990s. The economic collapse, the volatile political situation, as well as the desire to avoid mobilization and take part in devastating war conflicts contributed to the rapid increase in the emigration trend. However, there is no precise data on the number and structure of the population that left the country either permanently or temporarily, and the other republics that made up the territory of the SFRY have the same problem with statistics. According to the data of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migrations of the Republic of Serbia from the first Migration Profile (2010), "in the 2002 census, 414,839 persons were registered working or residing abroad, which is 5.3% of the total population of the Republic of Serbia (at home and abroad). Thus, the number of citizens of the Republic of Serbia working/ residing abroad increased by 54.2% compared to 1991. "It is believed that the total number was dramatically higher, since keeping records of expatriates was not compulsory in the FR Yugoslavia, in the 1990s. According to UNHCR data, from 1990 to 1999, about 1,659,270 persons were granted refugee or asylum status.

It is important to add that at a very early phase a consensus was formed, which has prevailed to this day, according to which the wave of emigration in the 1990s from Serbia was treated primarily as so-called *brain drain*. This was confirmed by the decision of the Federal Government in 1993 to adopt a Resolution on the Policy of Scientific and Technological Development, which also includes The Program for the Return and Use of Emigration from the 'Brain' Outflow. According to a representative household survey from 1994, cited in the Study on External and Internal Migration of Serbian Citizens, it is estimated that between 1990 and 1994

approximately 30,000 highly educated persons, or a total of about 220,000 young people between 15 and 34 years of age of all educational profiles, emigrated. Official state strategies continue to confirm today that "the diaspora and Serbs in the region" are primarily treated as a resource that should be exploited in order to stimulate the economic development of the Republic of Serbia.

Izbrisani

Državljanstvo u SFRJ bilo je od početka definisano kao dvostruko (kao federalno i republičko), pri čemu je svaki državljanin jedne republike na teritoriji druge imao ista prava i dužnosti kao i državljani te republike. Smatra da se da je takvo pravno rešenje oslikavalo federalni karakter države i da je imalo funkciju ponovnog ujedinjenja „bratskih naroda" na ravnopravnoj osnovi u periodu posle rata. Nakon toga, kroz brojne ustavne promene, dvostruko državljanstvo se pretvorilo u oruđe konfederalnog tipa, koje je trebalo da omogući saradnju „ravnopravnih, ali nezavisnih partnera", što je ukazivalo na sve veću decentralizaciju i osamostaljivanje federalnih jedinica u odnosu na centar. Ipak, nikad se nije stvorio pravni konsenzus koje državljanstvo je imalo prvenstvo. U takvom sistemu, mesto prebivališta imalo je ključnu ulogu u svakodnevnom životu građana jer su upravo preko tog kriterijuma definisana sva prava i obaveze. Kada se Jugoslavija raspala početkom devedesetih godina, federalno državljanstvo prestalo je da postoji, a republičko je postalo glavni kriterijum za sticanje državljanstva. Zakoni o državljanstvu koji su menjani i/ili donošeni devedesetih u svim republikama bili su jedan od glavnih „legalnih" mehanizama dezintegracije Jugoslavije. Sprovodeći etnički inženjering pravnim sredstvima, ovi zakoni su mahom privilegovali predstavnike matične etničke zajednice bez obzira na mesto prebivališta. Istovremeno, deprivilegovali su ili isključivali grupe građana koji su imali mesto prebivališta u republikama iz kojih nisu bili poreklom. Najradikalniji primer isključenja odigrao se u Sloveniji iako ona nije prošla kroz višegodišnje ratne sukobe i bila je jedna od etnički homogenijih republika.

Prema Zakonu o strancima i Zakonu o putnim ispravama donetim juna 1991. godine, svi građani poreklom iz drugih republika, a koji su zaključno sa 23. decembrom 1990. godine (dan kada je održan referendum o nezavisnosti Slovenije) imali zakonsko prebivalište u Sloveniji, mogli su da podnesu zahtev za slovenačko državljanstvo ukoliko ispune određene uslove. Rok je bio veoma kratak, procedure nejasne, a u trenutku raspada zemlje i ratnih sukoba nije bilo jednostavno doći do svih potrebnih dokumenata. U Sloveniji je živelo oko 300.000 građana neslovenačkog porekla, od kojih je 170.000 rešilo svoj status, dok su mnogi trajno napustili Sloveniju, poput vojnih lica s porodicama. Ostali su bili *izbrisani* iz registra stalnog prebivališta 26. februara 1992. godine. Smatra se da su ove izmene bile prevashodno usmerene protiv davanja državljanstva pripadnicima Jugoslovenske narodne armije koji su bili uključeni u konflikt sa snagama Teritorijalne odbrane Slovenije u desetodnevnom ratu leta 1991. godine. Ipak, prema zvaničnim podacima Republike Slovenije iz registra je izbrisano 18.305 lica, a prema podacima Evropskog suda za ljudska prava, čak njih 25.671. Isprave ovih lica proglašene su nevažećim nakon sprovođenja pomenute mere i oni su izgubili sva prava koja su do tada uživali. Godine 1999. donet je Zakon o statusu državljana drugih jugoslovenskih naslednica koji je omogućio da 7.000 izbrisanih stekne slovenačko državljanstvo. Neki su to uspeli da učine u godinama koje su usledile, dok su pojedini rešili svoj status tek po odluci Velikog veća Evropskog suda za ljudska prava u Strazburu, koji 2012. potvđuje odluku na prvom stepenu iz 2010. kojom se Slovenija proglašava krivom u slučaju poznatom kao Kurić i drugi protiv Slovenije.

Erased

From the very beginning, citizenship in the SFRY was defined as twofold (federal and republic), whereby every citizen of a republic, whilst on the territory of another, had the same rights and duties as nationals of that republic. Such a legal framework reflected the federal character of the state and served to re-unite the "brotherly nations" based on equality, after World War II. At a later point, through numerous changes to the constitution, the dual citizenship morphed into a confederal tool, which was supposed to enable the collaboration of "equal, yet independent partners," implying the ever-growing decentralization and autonomization of the federal units from the center. Yet, no legal consensus regarding citizenship priority was ever reached. Within such a system, place of residence was crucial to everyday life of the citizens because it was precisely through it that they were able to define all of their rights and obligations. When Yugoslavia broke apart in the 1990s, federal citizenship ceased to exist and the republic became the leading criterion for acquiring citizenship. Citizenship laws, which were changed and/or passed in the 1990s in all of the former Yugoslav republics, were among the leading "legal" mechanisms of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. By enforcing ethnic engineering through legal means, these laws largely privileged representatives of the stem ethnic community, regardless of place of residence. At the same time, they deprived or excluded groups of citizens who had their place of residence in republics from which they did not originate. The most radical example of exclusion occurred in Slovenia, even though it did not go through years of war and was one of the more ethnically homogeneous republics.

According to the Law on Foreigners and the Law on Travel

Documents adopted in June 1991, all citizens originating from other republics who, as of December 23, 1990 (the day the referendum on Slovenia's independence was held) had legal residence in Slovenia, could apply for Slovenian citizenship if they fulfilled certain criteria. The deadline was tight, the procedures unclear, and it was not easy to get all the necessary documents at the time of the breakup of the country and the war conflicts. About 300,000 citizens of non-Slovenian origin lived in Slovenia, 170,000 of whom settled their status, while many, such as military personnel with families, left Slovenia for good. The rest were *erased* on February 26, 1992. Even though these changes were primarily directed against hindering the attempts of members of the JNA who were involved in the conflict against the Slovenian Territorial Defense in a ten day war, according to official data of the Republic of Slovenia, 18,305 people were erased from the permanent residence records, and according to data of the European Court of Human Rights this number reached 25,671. The documents of these persons were declared invalid after the implementation of the aforementioned measure, and they lost all the rights they enjoyed to that point. In 1999, the Law on the Status of Nationals of Other Yugoslav Successor States was enacted, enabling 7,000 of the erased to obtain Slovenian citizenship immediately. Some succeeded in doing so in the years that followed, while others were only able to resolve their status following the decision of the Grand Jury of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, which in 2012 confirmed the 2010 first instance ruling, finding Slovenia guilty in the case known as "Kurić and others v. Slovenia."

Stambeno pitanje izbeglica i raseljenih lica

Republika Srbija je Zakonom o izbeglicama („Službeni glasnik RS", broj 18/92) formirala 1992. godine Komesarijat za izbeglice (2012. godine preimenovan u Komesarijat za izbeglice i migracije) kao posebnu organizaciju u sistemu državne uprave čiji je zadatak obavljanje poslova koji se odnose na zbrinjavanje, povratak i integraciju izbeglica. Komesarijat je dužan da, između ostalog: priznaje i oduzima status izbeglice, zbrinjava i registruje izbeglice, vodi računa o blagovremenom i ravnomernom pružanju pomoći izbeglicama, usklađuje pružanje pomoći od strane drugih domaćih i inostranih organa i organizacija, obezbeđuje izbeglicama smeštaj i rešava njihove stambene potrebe, preduzima mera za povratak izbeglica itd. Način i obim pružanja pomoći u zbrinjavanju izbeglica uređeni su Uredbom o zbrinjavanju izbeglica iz 1992. i Uredbom o načinu zbrinjavanja prognanih lica iz 1995. godine. U nadležnost Komesarijata spada i briga o interno raseljenim licima, tj. srpskim državljanima koji su s teritorije Kosova i Metohije raseljeni na druga područja na teritoriji Republike Srbije. Pomoć koju Komesarijat pruža interno raseljenim licima reguliše se Uredbom koju svake godine donosi Vlada, a na predlog Komesarijata.

Jedan od najozbiljnijih problema s kojima se i dan-danas susreću mnoge izbeglice i raseljena lica jeste nerešeno stambeno pitanje. Proces institucionalnog rešavanja ovog pitanja opterećen je, između ostalog, tromim i komplikovanim procedurama, nizom često nedostižnih kriterijuma koje kandidati za sticanje stambenih jedinica moraju da ispune i kontinuiranim nepostojanjem materijalnih uslova da država trajno zbrine sve izbeglice i raseljena lica. U ovakvim okolnostima, mnogi među njima su bili primorani da sami reše ovaj problem, pokušavajući da sebi obezbede trajni ili barem privremeni smeštaj. Ovakvi poduhvati su najčešće dodatno otežani drugim faktorima društvene i ekonomske nesigurnosti koji prate izbeglice i raseljena lica, s obzirom na to da je reč o ljudima koji su prošli kroz izuzetno traumatično iskustvo izbeglištva ili raseljenja, među kojima mnogi i danas trpe fizičke i psihičke posledice ovih iskustava ali i potonjeg dugogodišnjeg života u vanrednim okolnostima, koji često obavljaju nestalne, nesigurne i potplaćene poslove, te nisu finansijski sposobni da sebi obezbede trajno stambeno rešenje itd. Neki od njih su pribegavali i radikalnim potezima, kao stanari i stanarke Ustaničke 244g.

Prema poslednjim podacima Komesarijata, ukupno je 537.000 ljudi iz Slovenije, Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine devedesetih steklo u Srbiji status izbeglice ili prognanog lica. Njih 54.250 rešilo je svoje stambeno pitanje preko Komesarijata. Status interno raseljenog lica je, takođe prema poslednjim podacima Komesarijata, steklo 208.000 ljudi. Od njih je 4500 porodica rešilo svoje stambeno pitanje preko Komesarijata.

Program Regionalnog stambenog zbrinjavanja u okviru kojeg se Komesarijat bavi rešavanjem stambenog pitanja izbeglica završava se krajem 2021. To znači da do tada moraju biti rešeni svi slučajevi izbeglica sa za sada nerešenim problemom stambenog zbrinjavanja, a takvih je mnogo.

Housing Issues for Refugees and Displaced Persons

Based on the Law on Refugees ("The RS Official Gazette," No. 18/92) the Republic of Serbia formed in 1992 the Commissariat for Refugees (in 2012 it was renamed to Commissariat for Refugees and Migrations) as a special organization within the state administration system tasked to work on issues relating to the care, return and integration of refugees. Among other things, the Commissariat is required to: recognizes and revoke refugee status, take care of and register refugees, take care of timely and equitable

assistance to refugees, coordinate assistance provided by other domestic and foreign bodies and organizations, provide refugees with accommodation and address their housing needs, undertake measures to return refugees, etc. The manner and extent of assistance in the care of refugees is governed by the Decree on the Care of Refugees of 1992 and the Decree on the Manner of Care of Exiled Persons of 1995. The responsibility of the Commissariat is also the care of internally displaced persons, i.e. Serbian nationals displaced from the territory of Kosovo and Metohija to other territories in the Republic of Serbia. The assistance provided by the Commissariat to internally displaced persons is regulated by the Decree, which is issued annually by the Government, at the proposal of the Commissariat.

One of the most serious problems facing many refugees and displaced persons today is the unresolved housing issue. The process of institutional resolution of this issue is burdened with, among other things, cumbersome and complicated procedures, a series of often unattainable criteria that applicants for housing units have to meet and the continued lack of material conditions for the state to permanently provide care for all refugees and displaced persons. In these circumstances, many of them were forced to deal with the problem themselves, trying to secure permanent or at least temporary accommodation. Such ventures are often obstructed by other factors of social and economic insecurity that accompany refugees and displaced persons, given that they are people who have undergone extremely traumatic refugee or displacement experiences, many of whom still suffer the physical and psychological aftermaths of these experiences, but also the already extremely long time they have spent living in extraordinary circumstances, who often work in unstable, insecure and underpaid jobs and are not financially capable of securing a permanent housing solution, etc. Some of them also resorted to radical moves, such as the tenants of Ustanička Street No. 244g.

According to the latest data of the Commissariat, the total number of people from Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina who acquired refugee or displaced persons status in Serbia during the 1990s is 537,000. Of these, 54,250 refugees solved their housing issues through the Commissariat. Also, according to the latest data of the Commissariat, the status of internally displaced persons has reached 208,000 people. Of these, 4,500 families have been able to resolve their housing issues through the Commissariat.

The Regional Housing Program, under which the Commissariat deals with refugee housing, terminates at the end of 2021. This means that within that time all refugee cases with unresolved housing issues, of which there are many, must be resolved.

Etničko čišćenje

Etničko čišćenje je politički koncept usmeren na sticanje ili održavanje kontrole nad određenom teritorijom kroz sistematsko nasilje nad stanovništvom koje je označeno kao etnički nepoželjno. Pogrešno se verovalo da je taj pojam nastao uporedo s raspadom Jugoslavije i da se ova sintagma, kako se to navodi u literaturi, prvi put pojavila u kontekstu ratova devedesetih. Zaboravilo se da ideologija stvaranja „etnički čistog prostora" nije bila nova u Evropi, a posebno ne na Balkanu. Stvaranje novih država na graničnom pojasu između Osmanskog i Habzburškog carstva tokom devetnaestog veka bilo je u neraskidivoj vezi s pomeranjem stanovništva i njegovim nasilnim izmeštanjem, od Grčke, Crne Gore i Rumunije, do Srbije i Bugarske. U međuratnom periodu su takve ideje, planovi i referati više puta vađeni iz fioke. Da bi se takvo nasilje preduzelo, moralo je prethodno biti zamišljeno, osmišljeno, iskazano i opravdavano. U međuratnom periodu termini „etnički" i „čisto" pomeraju se s margina u sam centar intelektualne debate i političkog delovanja. Terminologiju u međuratnom periodu razrađuju Dušan P. Popović („čisti srpski etnički krajevi", 1925, „sredina etnički čisto naša", 1937), i Nićifor Krajnik (*programul statului etnocratic*, 1937). Razrađuju se i planovi biopolitičkog preuređenja Rumunije (Juliju Moldovan) ili njene etničke integracije (Sabin Manuila), dok u Jugoslaviji nastaju projekti eugeničke izgradnje zajednice (Stevan Ivanić) ili etnopolitičkog preuređenja izgonom albanskog stanovništva (Vaso Čubrilović). Sporadični terminološki izleti prerastaju u izgrađen koncept krajem tridesetih godina, kada se nije toliko postavljalo pitanje da li treba „čistiti", već kako i koga.

Praksa etničkog inženjeringa je tokom Drugog svetskog rata dovela do istinskih istrebljivačkih pohoda. U takvom kontekstu se učvrstio i termin. U leto 1941. nastaje i memorandum Stevana Moljevića *Homogena Srbija*, čiji se odjeci nalaze u *Instrukciji* Dragoljuba Mihailovića s kraja 1941, koja između ostalog kao cilj četničke borbe proglašava „stvaranje Velike Jugoslavije i u njoj Velike Srbije, etnički čiste". Takvi projekti se tada već uveliko realizuju u NDH, u kojoj se Filip Lukas 1942. zalaže za „etnički najčišće očuvani deo hrvatskog naroda". Na samom kraju rata, termin koristi istoričar Vaso Čubrilović u memorandumu *Manjinski problem u novoj Jugoslaviji*, upućenom novim vlastima novembra 1944. godine, u kojem je upozoravao: „Demokratska Federativna Jugoslavija može imati mira i osiguran sigurni razvitak samo onda ako bude etnički čista". Namera je bila uklanjanje svih neslovenskih manjina iz Jugoslavije, a obrazloženje sledeće: „Može biti nikad neće nam se pružiti ovakva prilika da svoju državu napravimo etnički čisto našom". Do kraja Drugog svetskog rata pojam etničko čišćenje ne samo da je nesporno nastao već se i razvio u potpuni koncept koji je i primenjen u zastrašujućem obliku. Pojam „etnički

čisto" upotrebljavan je tokom nemira na Kosovu početkom osamdesetih godina, da bi prerastao u „etničko čišćenje" početkom devedesetih.

Etničko čišćenje nije posledica, već jedan od glavnih ciljeva rata, nije „spontani proces" jer je praćen vojnim operacijama „čišćenja terena", odnosno proterivanjem stanovništva druge nacije, nakon čega se prelazi na „razmenu teritorija" i „razmenu stanovništva". Cilj „humanog preseljenja stanovništva" bilo je osvajanje teritorija i naseljavanje „oslobođenih srpskih teritorija" s ciljem menjanja etničke strukture. Međunarodna zajednica je podržala novi inženjering kroz relokaciju izbeglica, prihvatajući kriterijum povratka izbeglica na teritorije koje su pod kontrolom one etničke grupe kojoj i same pripadaju. Zbog usvojenog kriterijuma da je povratak iz bezbednosnih razloga moguć samo na teritorije pod kontrolom grupe kojoj pripadaju, dolazi do etničke homogenizacije zemlje, što za posledicu ima iseljavanje manjina koje su tokom čitavog rata ostale na tim teritorijama.

Ethnic Cleansing

Ethnic cleansing is a political concept aimed at gaining or maintaining control over a particular territory through systematic violence against a population designated as ethnically undesirable. It is a misconception that this term originated parallel with the breakup of Yugoslavia, and that this syntagm, as stated in written sources, first appeared in the context of the wars of the 1990s. It was forgotten that the ideology of creating an "ethnically cleansed space" was not new in Europe, and especially not in the Balkans. The creation of new states in the border zone between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires in the nineteenth century was inextricably linked with the movement of the population and its violent displacement, from Greece, Montenegro and Romania, to Serbia and Bulgaria. During the interwar period such ideas, plans and papers were repeatedly *taken out of the drawer*. For such violence to take place, it had to be conceived, thought out, expressed and justified. In the interwar period, the terms "ethnic" and "cleansed/pure" started to shift from the margins to the very center of intellectual debate and political action. The terminology of the interwar period is elaborated by Dušan P. Popović ("pure Serbian ethnic regions," 1925; "area ethnically purely ours," 1937) and Nićifor Krajnik (*programul statului ethnocratic*, 1937). Plans were also being made for the biopolitical reorganization of Romania (Iuliu Moldovan) or its ethnic integration (Sabin Manuila), while in Yugoslavia projects were underway for eugenic community building (Stevan Ivanić) or ethnopolitical conversion by expelling the Albanian population (Vaso Čubrilović). Sporadic terminology excursions grew into a fully formed concept in the late 1930s, when it was not so much a question of whether to "cleanse," but how and whom.

Ethnic engineering practices led to true extermination campaigns during World War II. In such a context, the term was strengthened. In the summer of 1941, the *Homogenous Serbia* memorandum by Stevan Moljević was written, and its echoes are found in Dragoljub Mihailović's *Instruction* from late 1941, proclaiming, among other things, the goal of the Chetnik struggle: "the creation of a Greater Yugoslavia and in it a Greater Serbia, ethnically pure." Such projects were already being implemented on a larger scale in the Independent State of Croatia, where Philip Lukas in 1942 advocated the "ethnically cleanest preserved part of the Croatian people." At the very end of the war, the term was used by historian Vasa Čubrilović in his memorandum *The Minority Problem in the New Yugoslavia,* addressed to the new authorities in November 1944, in which he warned: "A Democratic Federal Yugoslavia can have peace and secure its development only if it is ethnically clean." His intention was to remove all non-Slovenian minorities from Yugoslavia, with the following rationale: "We may never be given such an opportunity to make our country ethnically purely ours." By the end of World War II, the notion of ethnic cleansing had not only indisputably been coined but had evolved into a complete concept that had been executed in a horrific manner. The term "ethnically pure" was used during the unrest in Kosovo in the early 1980s, only to grow into "ethnic cleansing" in the early 1990s.

Ethnic cleansing is not a consequence but one of the main goals of war; it is not a "spontaneous process" because it is followed by military operations of "clearing the ground," that is, expelling the population of another nation, which is followed by "territorial exchange" and "population exchange". The goal of "humane resettlement" was to conquer territories and settle "liberated Serbian territories" with the aim of changing the areas ethnic structure. The international community has supported new engineering through the relocation of refugees, accepting the criterion of returning refugees to territories controlled by the ethnic group to which they belong. Due to the accepted criterion that, for security reasons, return is only possible to the territories controlled by the group to which the returnees belong, ethnic homogenization of the country occurs, which is due to the eviction of minorities who remained in those territories throughout the war.

Organizovano doseljavanje kineskih državljana

U vreme kada se iz Srbije stotine hiljada ljudi iseljava, jedini koji se masovno doseljavaju su Kinezi, koji u većem broju pristižu od 1996/97. godine. Tačan broj Kineza koji se nastanio u Srbiji nije poznat, procene variraju od 15.000 do 50.000 ili čak 100.000, iako je prema zvaničnim podacima Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova krajem 2009. nešto manje od 5000 kineskih državljana boravilo u Srbiji. Taj podatak je približan proceni Međunarodne privredne komore Kine, čiji predstavnici navode 6000 imigranata.

Iako se u javnosti spekulisalo da su Kinezi masovno dovođeni kao glasačko telo vladajuće partije, istina je da je tek neznatan broj stekao državljanstvo i time pravo glasa. Kineske migrante, naročito preduzetnike koji su u Srbiji otvorili sopstvene radnje i preduzeća, treba posmatrati kao sastavni deo globalnog toka ljudi, robe i kapitala. Posle otvaranja Kine 1979. godine Evropa postaje sve češće odredište kineskih migranata, a od devedesetih godina naročito Istočna Evropa zbog ukidanja viznog režima i ekonomskih mogućnosti koje pružaju društva u tranziciji sa slabo razvijenim i lako pristupačnim tržištima.

Podizanje poreza na uvoznu robu 1995. godine i rigorozniji vizni režim u Mađarskoj uticali su da se kineski transmigranti čije preduzetništvo prevazilazi granice zemalja-domaćina, preorijentišu na SR Jugoslaviju, koja u isto vreme liberalizuje vizni režim za kineske državljane. Srpsko tržište je bilo povoljno za trgovinu zbog smanjene kupovne moći građana usled sankcija i ekonomske krize. S druge strane, vlasti u Srbiji su se nadale kineskim investicijama, a značajan prihod u čvrstoj valuti (oko 10.000 DM po aplikaciji) prikupljen je od raznih taksi koje su imigranti morali da plate kako bi legalizovali svoj status dobijajući boravišne dozvole u svrhu školovanja i poslovanja.

Većina kineskih porodica u Srbiji sledila je transnacionalnu strategiju da ako im se deca rode u Srbiji, tu ostanu s roditeljima do pete godine, kada ih šalju u Kinu da žive s rođacima, nauče jezik i pođu u školu. Tokom boravka u Srbiji, često su za čuvanje dece angažovali lokalne stanovnice kojima je bio potreban dodatni prihod, pa su neretko deca komunicirala na srpskom, za razliku od roditelja koji nisu imali vremena ni želje da uče jezik, izuzev bazičnog nivoa neophodnog za trgovinu. Svakodnevni život im je najvećim delom usmeren na rad, a zarađeni novac se ulaže u posao. Kineski tržni centri, od kojih je najpoznatiji i najveći onaj u Bloku 70 na Novom Beogradu (sa oko 500 radnji), centri su poslovnih, ali i socijalnih aktivnosti i porodičnih okupljanja.

The Organized Settlement of Chinese Citizens

At a time when hundreds of thousands of people were moving out of Serbia, the only population to enter *en masse* were Chinese nationals. They started to arrive in large numbers in 1996/97. The exact number of Chinese that settled in Serbia is unknown, with estimates ranging from 15,000 to 50,000 or even 100,000, although, according to official figures from the Ministry of Interior, at the end of 2009, just under 5,000 Chinese citizens were resident in Serbia. The figures are close to the estimates of the International Chamber of Commerce of China, whose representatives mention the figure of 6,000 immigrants.

Although there have been public speculations that the Chinese were brought en masse as a voting body of the ruling party, it is true that only a small number have acquired citizenship and thus the right to vote. Chinese migrants, especially entrepreneurs who have opened their own shops and businesses in Serbia, should be seen as an integral part of the global flow of people, goods and capital. Following China's economic opening up in 1979, Europe has become an increasingly common destination for Chinese migrants, and since the 1990s Eastern Europe in particular, due to the abolition of the visa regime and the economic opportunities offered by transition societies with poorly developed and easily accessible markets.

The rise in taxes on imported goods in 1995 and a more rigorous visa regime in Hungary caused Chinese transmigrants whose entrepreneurship goes beyond the borders of their host countries, to reorient themselves to the FR Yugoslavia, which at the same time liberalized the visa regime for Chinese nationals. The Serbian market was favorable for trade because of the reduced purchasing power of its citizens, due to sanctions and the economic crisis. On the other hand, Serbian authorities were hoping for Chinese investment, and significant solid currency revenue (around DM 10,000 per application) was collected from various taxes immigrants had to pay to legalize their status by obtaining residency permits for schooling and business purposes.

Most Chinese families in Serbia followed the transnational strategy of taking care of their children born in Serbia until the age of five and then sending them to live with their relatives in China, in order to learn the language and attend school. During their stay in Serbia, Chinese nationals would often hire locals who needed extra income to care for their children, and often these children learnt Serbian, unlike their parents who did not have the time or desire to learn a language except on a basic level necessary for commerce. Everyday life comes down to working, and the money earned is invested in the business. Chinese shopping malls, the most famous and largest being in New Belgrade's Block 70 (with about 500 stores), are centers of business as well as social activities and family gatherings.

Stambena i imovinska pitanja pogođenih sukobima na Kosovu

Prema poslednjim podacima Komesarijata za izbeglice i migracije, od 208.000 ljudi koji su tokom i nakon sukoba na Kosovu stekli status interno raseljenih lica, 12.000 vratilo se na Kosovo, od kojih je 4000 ostvarilo tzv. održiv povratak. Jedan od ključnih problema raseljenih lica, koji se ogleda i u malom broju povratnika – i posebno onih čiji se povratak može okarakterisati kao „održiv" – jeste stambeno pitanje. Navedeni problem, koji se odnosi i na brojne druge grupe pogođene ratnim zbivanjima na tlu bivše Jugoslavije, u slučaju interno raseljenih lica dodatno je usložnjen zamršenom situacijom kada su posredi imovinska prava na Kosovu. Nepovoljno stanje u oblasti imovinskih prava održava se do danas ne samo na život raseljenih već i na sve zajednice na Kosovu.

Oružani sukobi 1998. i intervencija NATO snaga 1999. godine predstavljali su eskalaciju višegodišnje krize u srpsko-albanskim odnosima, koju je pratilo urušavanje državne vlasti i moći njenih institucija u regulisanju života stanovnika ove pokrajine. Neki od simptoma ove krize u direktnoj su vezi s do danas neregulisanim imovinskim pravima i nerešenim stambenim pitanjem velikog broja onih koji su, usled sukoba, trajno ili privremeno napuštali svoje domove na Kosovu. Među ovim simptomima su diskriminatorni zakoni koji su se odnosili na prodaju nepokretne imovine među pripadnicima različitih etničkih zajednica, razvoj crnog tržišta, korupcije, te neformalnih i nelegalnih mehanizama za sklapanje poslovnih dogovora, uključujući one koji su se odnosili na promet nekretnina.

Imovinska pitanja na Kosovu bila su uređena u okviru sistema društvenog vlasništva Zakonom o osnovama svojinsko-pravnih odnosa iz 1980. godine. Krajem 1980-ih i početkom 1990-ih godina srpska vlada je usvojila nove zakone kojima su regulisane imovinske transakcije, a čija se primena pokazala jasno diskriminatornom, kao što su Zakon o posebnim uslovima prometa nepokretnosti (1989) i Zakon o uslovima, načinu i postupku dodeljivanja poljoprivrednog zemljišta građanima koji žele da žive i rade na teritoriji Autonomne Pokrajine Kosovo i Metohija (1991). Na primer, kako bi se izbegao promet koji bi mogao da „utiče na promenu nacionalne strukture stanovništva ili na iseljavanje pripadnika određenog naroda odnosno narodnosti", bilo koji imovinski ugovor između pripadnika različitih etničkih zajednica morala je najpre da odobri Direkcija za stambena i imovinska pitanja Ministarstva finansija Republike Srbije. Međutim, među stanovnicima Kosova, kako albanske, tako i srpske nacionalnosti, bilo je mnogo spremnih da se ogluše o navedene zakone, što je značilo da su imovinske transakcije među njima često vršene po osnovu neformalnih dogovora i neoverenih ugovora. Ovakvo stanje pokazaće se posebno problematičnim nakon sukoba 1998. i 1999. godine, pri pokušajima da se ustanovi realna slika o vlasništvu nad imovinom na Kosovu.

Navedeni problem dotiče ponajviše one zajednice koje su nakon prisilnih migracija izazvanih kosovskim sukobima ostale najranjivije – raseljena lica srpske i romske nacionalnosti, među kojima su mnogi svoje domove ili izgubili ili se suočavaju s brojnim preprekama u dokazivanju vlasništva nad njima, kao i zajednicu kosovskih Albanaca koji su usled sukoba napustili svoje domove severno od reke Ibar, koje su potom zauzeli ili prisvojili oni koji su na sličan način ostali bez imovine drugde na Kosovu, ili druga lica. Pored desetina hiljada ljudi čija su stanarska i imovinska prava do danas direktno ugrožena, navedene okolnosti posredno utiču i na čitavo stanovništvo Kosova, budući da svi nerešeni problemi prouzrokovani sukobima 1990-ih snažno opterećuju osetljive odnose različitih kosovskih zajednica.

Housing and Property Issues Affected by the Kosovo Conflict

According to the latest data from the Commissariat for Refugees and Migrations, out of 208,000 people who acquired IDP (Internally Displaced Persons) status during and after the Kosovo conflict, 12,000 returned to Kosovo, 4,000 of whom were able to gain a, so called, sustainable return. One of the key problems of displaced persons, which is reflected in the small number of returnees – and especially those whose return can be described as "sustainable" – is the housing issue. The aforementioned problem, which also applies to numerous other groups affected by the war in the former Yugoslavia, is further complicated by the intricate situation of property rights in Kosovo in the case of internally displaced persons. Unfavorable property rights have persisted to this day and affect not only the lives of displaced persons, but also all communities in Kosovo.

The armed conflicts of 1998 and the intervention of NATO forces in 1999 represented an escalation in the years-long crisis in Serb-Albanian relations, which was accompanied by the collapse of the state government and the power of its institutions to regulate the lives of the inhabitants of the province. Some of the symptoms of this crisis are directly related to the unregulated property rights and the unresolved housing issue of a large number of persons who left their homes in Kosovo (whether temporarily or permanently) as a result of the conflict. Among these symptoms are discriminatory laws relating to the sale of immovable property among members of different ethnic communities, the development of a black market, corruption, and informal and illegal business arrangements, including those related to real estate transactions.

Property issues in Kosovo were regulated under the social ownership system by the Basics of Property-Legal Relations

Act of 1980. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Serbian government adopted new laws governing property transactions, but its implementation clearly proved it was discriminatory. Such was the Law on Special Conditions for Real Estate Transactions (1989) and the Law on the Conditions, Methods and Procedures of Allocating Agricultural Land to Citizens Who Wish to Live and Work on the Territory of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija (1991). For example, in order to avoid transactions that could "affect the change of the national population structure or the eviction of members of a particular nation or nationality," any property agreement between members of different ethnic communities had first to be approved by the Housing and Property Directorate of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Serbia. However, amongst the Kosovo population, both Albanian and Serb nationals, many were ready to turn a blind eye to the legal acts, which meant that property transactions between the two were often based on informal agreements and notarised contracts. Such a state of affairs will prove particularly problematic in the years following the 1998 and 1999 conflicts, when attempts were made to form a realistic picture of property ownership in Kosovo.

This problem is affecting particularly those communities which, following the forced migration caused by the Kosovo conflicts, were the most vulnerable – Serb and Roma displaced persons, many of whom have either lost their homes or are facing many obstacles in proving ownership over them, as well as the community of Kosovo Albanians who left their homes north of the Ibar River as a result of the conflict, which were subsequently taken or appropriated by those who similarly lost property elsewhere in Kosovo, or by other persons. In addition to the tens of thousands of people whose tenancy and property rights have been directly endangered to date, these circumstances indirectly affect the entire population of Kosovo, seeing as all unresolved issues caused by the conflicts of the 1990s severely hamper the sensitive relationships of different Kosovo communities.

Readmisija

Između Republike Srbije i Evropske unije 2007. godine je potpisan i naknadno ratifikovan u Narodnoj skupštini Republike Srbije Sporazum o readmisiji lica koja nezakonito borave („Službeni glasnik RS – Međunarodni ugovori", br. 103/2007). Readmisija je dobrovoljan ili prisilan povratak lica koja neosnovano borave na teritoriji neke države, u njihove zemlje porekla. Pomenuti Sporazum, kao i bilateralni sporazumi i protokoli o sprovođenju readmisije koje je Republika Srbija potpisala s pojedinim zemljama, uređuju proces povratka i prihvata lica za koje se utvrdi da ne ispunjavaju ili više ne ispunjavaju uslove za ulazak, boravak ili nastanjenje na teritoriji određene zemlje, odnosno definišu prava i obaveze koje u ovom procesu imaju kako država koju readmisant napušta, tako i ona u koju su vraća.

Veliki udeo u ukupnom broju povratnika u Srbiju imaju oni koji su je prvobitno napustili usled ratnih zbivanja na teritoriji SR Jugoslavije. Prema poslednjim podacima Komesarijata za izbeglice i migracije Republike Srbije, do sada se po osnovu Sporazuma o readmisiji u Srbiju vratilo 12.470 ljudi koji su zemlju napustili devedesetih godina. Među readmisantima najviše je Roma i Romkinja, čak preko 80%, kako se navodi u izveštajima Ministarstva za ljudska i manjinska prava iz 2012. godine. Neki od njih su u druge zemlje ulazili i ostajali legalno, dok je bilo i onih koji su u date zemlje ulazili legalno, ali zatim nisu tražili azil, već su nastavljali da tamo borave ilegalno. Status azilanta je, onima koji su uspeli da ga steknu, omogućavao dobijanje osnovne socijalne i zdravstvene nege – hranu, odeću, obuću, krov nad glavom, finansijsku pomoć, školovanje za decu. Zbog toga su mnogi koji su napustili Srbiju devedesetih pokušavali da u inostranstvu steknu ovaj status, odnosno oni koji su ga stekli, najčešće su se trudili da ga što duže zadrže. Najkrupniju prepreku u ostvarivanju ovakve namere predstavlja proglašenje Srbije „sigurnom zemljom porekla", što znači da je ona prepoznata kao država u kojoj se njenim vlastitim državljanima više ne krše prava u meri i obliku koji bi predstavljao osnov za pružanje azila u drugim državama. To takođe znači da se najvećem broju azilanata iz Srbije u zemlji koja Srbiju proglasi sigurnom zemljom ukida azilantski status, odnosno da će svi budući tražioci azila imati male šanse da ga steknu. Primera radi, Nemačka kao zemlja s najvećim brojem srpskih državljana koje je čekao povratak u Srbiju i prva zemlja s kojom je Srbija potpisala bilateralni sporazum o readmisiji proglasila je Srbiju sigurnom zemljom 2014. godine. Ovo je imalo za posledicu masovne deportacije po osnovu readmisije, pre svega Roma i Romkinja, koji su bili primorani da se vrate (odnosno da njihova tamo rođena deca često tek prvi put dođu) u Srbiju, gde su bili suočeni s nizom izazova. Deo ovih problema odnosi se na sve povratnike i rezultat je nedostatka adekvatne sistemske podrške u procesu reintegracije, dok je situacija dodatno komplikovana za pripadnike romske nacionalne manjine koja je u Srbiji, kao i u drugim državama, višestruko marginalizovana i društveno isključena. U najproblematičnije aspekte procesa readmisije ubrajaju se: traumatičnost samog čina deportacije, komplikovane i neusklađene institucionalne procedure (što vodi, npr. tome da povratnici godinama nemaju lična dokumenta), neobaveštenost povratnika o sopstvenim pravima i obavezama, nepovoljni ekonomski i društveni uslovi povratnika koji ostaju nerešeni ili se dodatno zaoštravaju povratkom u Srbiju, ali i često nepoznavanje srpskog jezika među povratnicima, što im dodatno otežava čitav proces i jedan je od uzroka društvene izolacije s kojom se susreće najveći broj povratnika.

Sporazum o readmisiji kao mera kontrole ilegalnih migracija bio je uslov koji je Srbija morala da ispuni kako bi se našla na tzv. Beloj šengenskoj listi, odnosno kako bi Srbija i Evropska unija potpisale Sporazum o olakšanoj proceduri za izdavanje viza. Dok je liberalizacija viznog režima u javnosti doživljena kao veliki korak Srbije ka tome da svojim državljanima obezbedi veća prava i slobode, Sporazum o readmisiji bi se mogao tumačiti kao naličje ovog procesa, s obzirom na sve probleme koji u realnosti prate sprovođenje odluka Sporazuma.

Readmission

An Agreement on the Readmission of Illegally Residing Persons was signed between the Republic of Serbia and the European Union in 2007 ("RS Official Gazette – International Treaties," No. 103/2007). Readmission is the voluntary or involuntary return of persons with ungrounded residence in a country's territory, to their countries of origin. The said Agreement, as well as bilateral agreements and protocols on the implementation of the readmission, signed between the Republic of Serbia and certain countries, regulates the process of return and acceptance of persons who are found not to fulfill or who no longer fulfill the requirement conditions for entry, permanent or temporary residence on the territory of a particular country, that is, they define the rights and obligations held in the process by both the state these nationals are leaving and the country of their return.

A large share of the total number of returnees to Serbia are those who initially left the country because of what was going on in the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to the latest data from the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia, so far, 12,470 people who left the country in the 1990s have returned to Serbia. Most of the people being readmitted are Roma, almost over 80% of them, as stated in the 2012 reports of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights. Some of them entered and stayed in other countries legally, while there were also those who came to these countries legally, but then did not seek asylum but continued to reside there illegally. Asylum seekers – that is, those who succeeded in obtaining the status – were able to receive basic social and health care: food, clothing and footwear, a roof over their heads, financial aid, and education for their children. That is why many who left Serbia in the 1990s tried to gain this status abroad, i.e. those who obtained it most often tried to keep it as long as possible. The biggest obstacle in achieving this is the recognition of Serbia as a "safe country of origin," which means that it is recognized as a state in which the rights of its nationals are not violated in the form and to the extent that would form the basis for seeking asylum in other countries. It also means that most asylum seekers from Serbia, in a country that declares Serbia a safe country, have their asylum status terminated, meaning that all future asylum seekers will have little chance of acquiring it. For example, Germany as the first country with which Serbia signed a bilateral readmission agreement (back in 1996) and the country with the highest number of Serbian citizens awaiting return to Serbia, declared Serbia a safe country in 2014. This resulted in mass deportation on the basis of readmission of primarily Roma men and women who were forced to return to Serbia (that is, in the case of children, it was the first time they entered the country). Part of this problem has to do with all returnees and is the result of the lack of adequate systematic support in the reintegration process, while the situation is further complicated for members of the Roma national minority who, in Serbia and in other countries, are marginalized and socially excluded in many ways. The most problematic aspects of the readmission process include: the traumatic nature of the deportation act itself, complicated and inconsistent institutional procedures (leading, for example, to the fact that returnees do not have personal documents for years), the returnees' lack of awareness of their rights and obligations, the unfavorable economic and social conditions of returnees that remain unresolved or are exacerbated upon their return to Serbia, but also the frequent lack of knowledge of the Serbian language among returnees, which further complicates the whole process and is one of the causes of social isolation that most returnees face.

The Readmission Agreement as an illegal migration control measure, was a condition that Serbia had to meet in order to secure its place in the so-called the Schengen White List, that is, in order for Serbia and the European Union to sign the Agreement on the Facilitation of the Visa Procedure. While visa liberalization is seen by the public as a major step for Serbia towards providing its citizens with greater rights and freedoms, the Readmission Agreement could be interpreted as the reverse of this process, given all the problems that actually accompany the implementation of the decisions under this Agreement.

Vojno-policijska operacija „Oluja"

Odnos prema srpskom stanovništvu u Hrvatskoj pogoršao se odmah posle prvih višestranačkih izbora u aprilu i maju 1990. godine, kada je na vlast došla Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ) Franje Tuđmana. Republička vlada želela je da hitno promeni ustavni okvir i političku ravnotežu snaga u Hrvatskoj pošto su Srbi činili 14% stanovništva (580.000) i iz istorijskih razloga značajno uticali na politički život, a učestvovali i u policiji i obaveštajnim službama. Srbi su, sve do 1990. godine, kada su nasilno izbačeni iz ustava koji Hrvatsku definše kao državu hrvatskog naroda i svedeni

na nacionalnu manjinu, bili konstitutivni narod Republike Hrvatske. Srpska demokratska stranka podigla je pobunu sa epicentrom u Kninu, koju je podsticala Srbija, dajući moralnu i materijalnu podršku, uključujući oružje. Srbi su se naročito protivili nameri novog hrvatskog rukovodstva da se Hrvatska otcepi od Jugoslavije. Tuđman je pokušao da uguši proteste nizom policijskih akcija koje je trebalo da uspostave potpunu kontrolu nad teritorijom s većinskim srpskim stanovništvom, ali su pobunjeni Srbi u kasno leto 1990. blokirali puteve i osnovali tzv. autonomne oblasti sa sopstvenom upravom. Položaj srpskih krajeva bio je takav da je Hrvatska mogla da bude presečena na dva dela. U oktobru 1990. Srbi su preduzeli napade na policijske stanice i druge oružane akcije. Srpska autonomna oblast (SAO) Krajina, sa sedištem u Kninu, osnovana je u decembru 1990, a u februaru 1991. proglasila je otcepljenje od Hrvatske. Kada je Hrvatska u junu 1991. proglasila nezavisnost, situacija se zaoštrila i izbio je rat, koji je trajao od 1991. do 1995. godine. Međunarodno priznavanje Slovenije i Hrvatske u januaru 1992, pre bilo kakvog rešenja položaja srpske manjine koja je proglasila autonomiju u hrvatskim područjima Krajine i Slavonije, pokazaće se kao pogubno. Sukob unutar Hrvatske izbio je pošto je ohrabrena hrvatska država osećala da ima malo razloga za traženje kompromisa sa svojom srpskom manjinom, koja je, sa svoje strane, postala još upornija u nastojanju da ostane u jugoslovenskoj federaciji. Rat u Hrvatskoj (Domovinski rat, kako se naziva u Hrvatskoj) uglavnom je bio ograničen na etnički mešovite oblasti (Slavoniju, Baniju, Kordun, Liku i Dalmaciju) i na teritorije na kojima su Srbi bili većinsko stanovništvo. Veliki broj građana hrvatske nacionalnosti je proteran sa teritorije pod kontrolom Srba u leto i jesen 1991. godine. Rat je donekle zaustavljen Vensovim planom, uspostavljanjem linija razgraničenja i dolaskom Plavih šlemova početkom 1992. i njihovim raspoređivanjem na teritorije nazvane Istok, Zapad, Sever i Jug. Mirovnu inicijativu, koju je u jesen 1994. pokrenuo američki ambasador u Hrvatskoj Piter Galbrajt, Plan Z-4 koji je nudio široku teritorijalnu autonomiju Srbima, rukovodstvo SAO Krajine je odbilo. U maju 1995. godine hrvatska vojska je porazila srpske snage u operaciji „Bljesak" i vratila Zapadnu Slavoniju (Zona Zapad UNPROFOR-a) pod svoju kontrolu. U avgustu 1995. usledila je operacija „Oluja", kojom je rat okončan preuzimanjem kontrole nad zonama Sever i Jug i hrvatskim zauzimanjem Knina, glavnog grada tzv. Republike Srpske Krajine. Tu ofanzivu Hrvati zovu „oslobođenje", a Srbi „pad" Knina. Operacija je izvršena uz pomoć bivših američkih oficira, uz prećutnu podršku američke vlade i angažman Armije BiH. Njen rezultat bilo je masovno proterivanje Srba (oko 200.000), a zatim pljačke i paljenje njihovih sela i ubijanje Srba koji su zaostali po selima, uglavnom starih i nepokretnih. Ubijeno je gotovo hiljadu civila, više hiljada je nestalo, a nekoliko desetina hiljada kuća je spaljeno. Vlada Republike Hrvatske deklarativno je u vreme operacije „Oluja" pozivala građane srpske nacionalnosti da ne napuštaju svoje gradove i naselja, nego da u skladu s hrvatskim ustavom i zakonima postanu lojalni građani Republike Hrvatske, garantujući im ljudska i etnička prava, kao i sigurnost života i imovine, što je isticano kao dokaz da je srpsko stanovništvo dobrovoljno napustilo Hrvatsku. Oni koji su ova obećanja poslušali, naivno verujući u svoju nevinost, uglavnom civili, stradali su naknadno ili su oterani pod pritiskom vojske i policije, pretnjama i zastrašivanjem. Izbegličke kolone iz Like, Banije, Korduna i Severne Dalmacije koje kreću ka Srbiji upućivane su na Kosovo, u Vojvodinu (gde ih je najviše i otišlo) i Sandžak, s namerom da se izbeglice nasele u etnički mešovitim sredinama i tako konsoliduju srpske etničke prostore. Ustanovljeni princip dobrovoljnog povratka izbeglica jedan je od najznačajnijih aspekata Dejtonskog sporazuma, ali, nažalost, praksa nije donela željene rezultate njegove implementacije. Broj povratnika je vrlo mali, a kao najčešća prepreka za povratak navodi se strah. Strah je bio glavni razlog i za odlazak.

Rat u Hrvatskoj je ovom operacijom vojnički okončan, dok je mirovni sporazum usledio u novembru u Dejtonu. Preostala teritorija pod srpskom kontrolom u Istočnoj Slavoniji i Baranji integrisana je, prema Erdutskom sporazumu, u Hrvatsku mirnim putem od 1996. do 1998, uz pomoć Prelazne uprave Ujedinjenih nacija za Istočnu Slavoniju, Baranju i Zapadni Srem (UNTAES).

Vojno-policijsku operaciju „Oluja" prate velike kontroverze. Sećanje na nju svake godine izaziva žestoke polemike između srpskog i hrvatskog državnog vrha. Za hrvatsku stranu „Oluja" je Dan pobede, označava novi početak i slavi se kao centralni državni praznik i trijumf koji se ne sme zaboraviti i osnova narativa o napadnutoj državi-žrtvi koja je uspela da izvojuje svoju nezavisnost. Za srpsku stranu, „Oluja" je pogrom nad Srbima, jasna poruka da im u Hrvatskoj nije mesto i nekažnjeni zločin koji se ne sme zaboraviti.

Operation "Storm"

Attitudes towards Serbs in Croatia deteriorated immediately after the first multi-party elections in April and May 1990, when Franjo Tuđman's Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), came to power. The Republic Government urgently wanted to change the constitutional framework and political balance among the forces in Croatia, as Serbs made up 14% of the population (580,000) and, for historical reasons, had significant influence in politics, police and intelligence. Until 1990, when they were forcibly expelled from the constitution defining Croatia as a state of the Croatian people and reduced to a national minority, Serbs were the constituent people of the Republic of Croatia. The Serbian Democratic Party staged a rebellion, in Knin, and was fueled by Serbia, which provided moral and material support, including weapons. Serbs were particularly opposed to the intention

of the new Croatian leadership to secede from Yugoslavia. Tuđman tried to stifle protests with a series of police actions that were supposed to establish complete control of the Serb-majority territory, but in late summer 1990, rebel Serbs blocked roads and set up so-called autonomous areas with their own management. The position of the Serbian regions was such that Croatia could be cut in two. In October 1990, Serbs launched attacks on police stations and conducted other armed activities. The Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) Krajina, with headquarters in Knin, was founded in December 1990 and declared its secession from Croatia in February 1991. When in June 1991 Croatia proclaimed its independence, the situation escalated and war broke, lasting from 1991 to 1995. International recognition of Slovenia and Croatia in June 1992, without resolving the position of the Serbian minority that had proclaimed its autonomy in the Croatian regions of Krajina and Slavonia, turned out to be detrimental. Conflict inside Croatia erupted as the (now) encouraged Croatian state felt there was little reason to seek compromise with its Serbian minority, which in turn became even more persistent in its bid to remain in the Yugoslav federation. The war in Croatia (called in Croatia the Croatian War of Independence) was mainly restricted to ethnically mixed areas (Slavonia, Banija, Kordun, Lika and Dalmatia) and to territories with a Serb majority. Many Croat nationals were expelled from territories under Serb rule in the summer and fall of 1991. The war was partly thwarted by The Vance plan, the establishment of demarcation lines and the arrival of the Blue Helmets in early 1992, and their deployment to territories called East, West, North and South. The peace initiative, launched in the fall of 1994 by US Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith, Plan Z-4, which offered broad territorial autonomy to Serbs, was rejected by the SAO Krajina leadership. In May 1995, the Croatian army defeated Serb forces in Operation Flash, regaining control over Western Slavonia (UNPROFOR Zone West). Operation Storm followed in August 1995, ending the war with Croatia taking control of the North and South zones and with the Croatian occupation of Knin, the so-called capital of Republika Srpska Krajina. This offensive is considered by Croats to be "liberation" and "the fall" of Knin by Serbs. The operation was carried out with the help of former US officers, with the tacit support of the US government and the involvement of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Army. Its result was the mass expulsion of Serbs (around 200,000), followed by the looting and burning of their villages and the killing of Serbs who were left behind in the villages, mostly the old and immobile. Almost 1,000 civilians were killed, many thousands disappeared, and several tens of thousand houses were burnt to the ground. At the time of Operation Storm, the Government of the Republic of Croatia had urged Serb citizens not to leave their towns and settlements but to become loyal citizens of the Republic of Croatia in accordance with the Croatian Constitution and laws, guaranteeing them human and ethnic rights, insuring the security of their life and property, which served as evidence that the Serb population left Croatia voluntarily. Those who obeyed these promises, naively believing in their innocence, mostly civilians, were subsequently killed or threatened and intimidated into exile under the pressure of the military and police. Refugees from Lika, Banija, Kordun and Northern Dalmatia heading for Serbia were funneled to Kosovo, Vojvodina (where most of them went) and Sandžak. The intention was to settle refugees in ethnically mixed environments, thus consolidating the Serb ethnic spaces. The established principle of the refugees' voluntary return is one of the most important aspects of the Dayton Agreement, but unfortunately, its implementation did not produce the desired results. The number of returnees is very small, and fear is considered to be the most common obstacle of return. Fear was also the main reason for leaving.

The war in Croatia ended with this military operation and the peace agreement was finalized in November in Dayton. The remaining Serbian-controlled territories in eastern Slavonia and Baranja were peacefully integrated into Croatia under the Erdut Agreement, from 1996 to 1998, with the assistance of the United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem (UNTAES).

Operation Storm is highly controversial. The commemoration of the military enforced and politically charged Operation Storm provokes fierce disputes between the Serbian and Croatian leaderships. For the Croatian side Operation Storm is "Victory Day," marking a new beginning and celebrated as the central state holiday and triumph that must not be forgotten, which is also the basis of the narrative of a state-as-victim under attack that was able to war its independence. For the Serbian side, Operation Storm is a pogrom against Serbs, a clear message that they do not belong in Croatia and an unpunished crime that must not be forgotten.

Proterivanje građana hrvatske nacionalnosti iz Vojvodine

Kao jedna od osnovnih karakteristika Vojvodine često se ističe njen multietnički karakter. Prema popisu iz 1991. godine, čak oko 43% ukupnog stanovništva Vojvodine činili su stanovnici koji ne pripadaju većinskoj, tj. srpskoj etničkoj zajednici. Međutim, ratna zbivanja devedesetih bitno su izmenila ovu strukturu. Naredni popis, sproveden 2002. godine, pokazao je izrazito smanjenje broja nesrpskog stanovništva, na prvom mestu Hrvata. Između dva popisa broj pripadnika hrvatske nacionalnosti u Vojvodini smanjio se za 24,41%, a smanjenje je zabeleženo u 39 od 45

vojvođanskih opština. Drugim rečima, devedesetih godina Vojvodinu je napustilo 18.262 Hrvata.

Navedeni statistički podaci odslikavaju posledice zastrašivanja i pritisaka vršenih na Hrvate, ali i pripadnike drugih nacionalnih manjina, na području Autonomne Pokrajine Vojvodine od 1991. do 1995. godine. Cilj zastrašivanja bio je, pre svega, da se vojvođanski Hrvati isele iz svojih kuća i napuste Srbiju – odnosno proterivanje Hrvata iz Vojvodine. Periodi posebne eskalacije kampanje proterivanja bili su druga polovina 1991, period od proleća do jeseni 1992. i leto 1995. godine. Najsnažnije pritiske trpeli su Hrvati u opštinama Ruma, Šid, Stara Pazova, Inđija, Petrovaradin i Apatin, čija je etnička struktura i najizrazitije izmenjena kao posledica ovih dešavanja.

Zastrašivanje i napadi na vojvođanske Hrvate predstavljali su reakciju na sukobe u Hrvatskoj, pre svega na niz akcija koje je u jesen 1991. godine hrvatska vojska sprovela na teritoriji Zapadne Slavonije u nameri da povrati područja nad kojima su kontrolu preuzele srpske snage. Ove akcije pratio je i progon srpskog stanovništva iz Požeške kotline. Deo srpskog stanovništva napustio je i ona slavonska sela i gradove u kojima nije bilo oružanih sukoba, usled sličnih pritisaka kakvi će kasnije biti vršeni na građane hrvatske nacionalnosti u Vojvodini. Veliki broj Srba bio je prinuđen da napusti opštine Grubišno Polje, Slavonska Požega, Podravska Slatina, Virovitica i Daruvar. Od novembra 1991. do sredine 1992. u Vojvodinu je iz Slavonije prebegao veliki broj Srba; primera radi, samo u grad Rumu pristiglo je oko 10.000 porodica.

Ideju da se na ova zbivanja odgovori recipročnim tretmanom Hrvata u Vojvodini zagovarala je pre svega Srpska radikalna strana, na čelu sa Vojislavom Šešeljem, a potom i pripadnici srpskih dobrovoljačkih jedinica koje su učestvovale u sukobima u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i deo lokalnog stanovništva, te deo izbeglica iz Hrvatske. Vojislav Šešelj, u to vreme narodni poslanik Skupštine Republike Srbije, u svojim govorima je otvoreno pozivao na proterivanje Hrvata iz Srbije, a jednim od ključnih događaja smatra se skup Srpske radikalne strane održan na Đurđevdan, 6. maja 1992. u selu Hrtkovci, na kom je, između ostalog, javno čitan spisak nepodobnih građana hrvatske nacionalnosti. Osnovna zamisao članova SRS-a, tzv. retorzija, koju je najgromoglasnije promovisao Šešelj, bila je da se sprovede razmena kuća među Srbima i Hrvatima – vojvođanski Hrvati imali su da napuste svoje kuće i ustupe ih srpskim izbeglicama, a da zauzvrat dobiju njihove kuće u Hrvatskoj. Pretnje izricane na stranačkim skupovima i sličnim prilikama sve su češće i intenzivnije prelazile u otvoreno nasilje. Kako u Hrtkovcima, tako i u drugim mestima širom Vojvodine, pripadnici hrvatske etničke zajednice primali su preteće telefonske pozive i pisma, na njihovim kućama su ispisivane preteće poruke, na njihove adrese su dolazili nepoznati ljudi da ih nagovaraju na razmenu imovine. Zatim bi se napadi intenzivirali, dolazilo je do podmetanja eksploziva i bacanja bombi, te direktnog fizičkog nasilja. Ovo nasilje je svoje najekstremnije oblike doseglo u više slučajeva ubistava lica hrvatske nacionalnosti iz Vojvodine.

Zastrašivanja i proterivanja vršena su uz znanje vladajućih političkih struktura. U pojedinim činovima nasilja učestvovali su i pripadnici MUP-a Republike Srbije.

The Expulsion of Croats from Vojvodina

Vojvodina is characterized by being multiethnic. According to the 1991 census, as many as 43% of the total population of Vojvodina consisted of non-majority residents, i.e. the majority being the Serbian ethnic community. However, the events of the 1990s significantly changed this structure. The following census, conducted in 2002, showed a marked decrease in the number of non-Serbs, primarily Croats. Between the two censuses, the number of Croats in Vojvodina decreased by 24.41%, and a decrease was recorded in 39 out of 45 Vojvodina municipalities. In other words, 18,262 Croats left Vojvodina in the 1990s.

These statistics reflect the consequences of intimidation and pressure exerted on Croats, as well as members of other national minorities, in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina from 1991 to 1995. The purpose of the intimidation was, first and foremost, for the Croats of Vojvodina to move out of their homes and leave Serbia – that is, the expulsion of Croats from Vojvodina. The expulsion campaign was at a particular high during the second half of 1991, from spring to fall of 1992 and in the summer of 1995. The strongest pressure was exerted upon Croats in the municipalities of Ruma, Šid, Stara Pazova, Inđija, Petrovaradin and Apatin. The ethnic structure of these places was most markedly altered as a result of these events.

The intimidation of Vojvodina Croats and their attacks were a reaction to the conflicts in Croatia, most notably the series of military operations carried out by the Croatian army on the territory of Western Slavonia in the fall of 1991, with the aim of reclaiming areas over which Serb forces took control. These operations were accompanied by the persecution of the Serb population from the Požega Basin. A part of the Serb population also left those Slavonian villages and towns where there were no armed conflicts, due to similar pressures that would later be exerted on Croat nationals in Vojvodina. A large number of Serbs were forced to leave the municipalities of Grubišno Polje, Slavonska Požega, Podravska Slatina, Virovitica and Daruvar. From November 1991 to mid-1992 many Serbs fled from Slavonia to Vojvodina; for example, about 10,000 families came to the city of Ruma alone.

The idea of responding to these developments with the reciprocal treatment of Croats in Vojvodina was first advo-

cated by the Serbian Radical Party, led by Vojislav Šešelj, and later by members of Serbian volunteer units involved in the conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also by segments of the local population and some refugees from Croatia. Vojislav Šešelj, at that time a Member of Parliament of the Republic of Serbia, in his speeches openly called for the expulsion of Croats from Serbia. In what is considered to be one of the most crucial events, the rally of the Serbian Radical Party held on May 6, 1992, Saint George's Day, in the village of Hrtkovci, a list of ineligible citizens – Croat nationals – was read out publicly. The basic idea of the members of the Serbian Radical Party, so called – *retorsion*, most vocally promoted by Šešelj, was to carry out an exchange of houses between Serbs and Croats – Vojvodina Croats had to leave their homes and give them to Serb refugees and in return they would get their homes in Croatia. Threats raised at party rallies and on similar occasions were increasingly turning into acts of open violence. In Hrtkovci and elsewhere in Vojvodina, Croats received threatening phone calls and letters, hostile messages were written on their homes, and unknown people came to their doorsteps to persuade them to exchange property. Then, the attacks started to intensify, with explosives being planted and bombs thrown, leading to direct physical violence as well. This violence took its most extreme form in several cases of murdered Croats from Vojvodina.

The intimidation and expulsion was carried out with the knowledge of the ruling political structures and certain acts of violence were perpetrated by Members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia.

Dezerterstvo i prinudna mobilizacija izbeglica

Od novembra 1991. punoletnim muškarcima je bilo zabranjeno da napuste Srbiju bez dozvole lokalnog vojnog odseka. To je primoralo neke da potraže ilegalne načine za odlazak iz zemlje, koja zvanično nije bila u ratnom konfliktu. Oni koji su odbili poziv u rat ili dezertirali imali su dve opcije: skrivati se ili napustiti zemlju. Broj vojnih obveznika koji su neposredno pre ili za vreme rata otišli u inostranstvo, koji se nisu odazvali vojnom pozivu, nije poznat. Procene variraju, neke idu čak i do stotinu hiljada i nemoguće ih je proveriti. Mali deo ovog otpora bio je artikulisan kao antimilitaristički, veze između pobunjenih vojnika i antiratnih aktivista i aktivistkinja nisu bile razvijene iako su postojale organizacije poput Centra za antiratnu akciju i Jugoslovenskog komiteta pravnika za ljudska prava koje su nudile pravnu pomoć, dok su Žene u crnom pružale moralnu, emocionalnu, a ponekad i praktičnu podršku u napuštanju zemlje.

Od oktobra 1991. do proleća 1992. u Srbiji je bilo oko pedeset pobuna rezervista, sa oko 55.000 učesnika, od kojih se većina vratila kući s linija fronta. Bunile su se i majke regruta JNA, koje su početkom jula 1991. godine upale u Narodnu skupštinu Srbije tražeći prekid svih oružanih sukoba, puštanje iz vojske svih vojnika koji su odslužili vojni rok i da vojnici služe u svojoj republici.

Premda opšta mobilizacija nikada nije raspisana, budući da Srbija formalno nije učestvovala u ratu, u njoj je tokom 1991/1992. prinudno mobilisano 140.000 ljudi, od kojih 82.000 u Vojvodini. Računa se da je u Mađarsku izbeglo 25.000 Vojvođana, najviše Mađara.

Prema izvorima novinara *Vremena*, odaziv na mobilizaciju je bio oko 50% u Srbiji i samo 15% u Beogradu, a protiv 10.000 njih pokrenut je krivični postupak. Mnogi od onih koji su se odazvali vojnom pozivu činili su to ispunjavajući zakonom propisanu vojnu obavezu, ali kako je Jugoslavenska narodna armija stala na srpsku stranu, mnogi su dezertirali, prvo vojnici iz Slovenije i Hrvatske, a onda i svi ostali koji su odbijali da učestvuju u ratu. Hiljadama muškaraca prećeno je sudskim sporovima i zatvorskim kaznama, a sudovi su manipulisali pokretanjem procesa i dužinom kazne. Generalštab i Vlada su 1993. objavili podatke po kojima je do kraja 1992. bilo 13.672 kaznenih slučajeva (uglavnom dezerterstva i odbijanja odaziva).

U leto i jesen 1995. počeo je najjači talas mobilizacije u Srbiji od 1991, koji je naročito pogađao izbeglice. Mnoge muškarce koji su posle tragedije i proterivanja iz Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine sigurnost potražili u Srbiji, hapsile su srpske policijske i paramilitarne snage i, često posle strašne torture u kampu Srpske dobrovoljačke garde u Erdutu, vraćale nazad na front. Prema Zakonu o izbeglicama Republike Srbije, izbeglice su podlegale vojnoj obavezi, čime su narušavana sva ljudska prava građana izbegličkog statusa i sve međunarodne konvencije o pravima izbeglica. Policija ih je, naočigled javnosti, odvodila iz tramvaja, autobusa, s naplatnih rampi, tokom kontrole saobraćaja, iz studentskih domova, pa čak i s maturskih proslava. Osim malobrojnih organizacija koje su protestovale, većina se slagala s tim da izbeglice same treba da brane svoja ognjišta. Od 12. do 24. juna 1995. godine, 2000–4000 građana je protiv svoje volje odvedeno na front. Policija je izdala saopštenje kojim se poriče mobilizacija i tvrdi da je reč o kontroli osoba koje nisu državljani i nemaju prijavljeno boravište ni prebivalište, kao ni regulisan izbeglički status.

Nepotpun Zakon o amnestiji donet je 1996. i njime su pomilovani svi oni koji se do zaključenja Dejtonskog sporazuma nisu odazvali pozivu za vojsku ili su ga izbegli odlaskom u inostranstvo.

U Srbiji je 1999. godine sudovima prijavljeno 22.000 dezertiranja ili odbijanja vojnog poziva onih koji nisu želeli da učestvuju u ratu protiv NATO-a, 7700 optužnica je podignuto za manje od godinu dana. U godini između NATO bombardovanja i pada Slobodana Miloševića, vojni sudovi

su, na temelju tih optužnica, osudili 970 ljudi na kazne od jedne do sedam godina zatvora.

Međunarodna zajednica, i pored jednoglasno donete rezolucije Evropskog parlamenta o dezerterima u bivšoj Jugoslaviji iz 1993. godine, nije pružala zaštitu dezerterima, evropske zemlje su odbijale da ih prihvate i često su im zabranjivale ulaz u njihovu zemlju, odbijajući da ih tretiraju kao izbeglice i daju im azil.

Desertion and Forced Mobilization

From November 1991, males were forbidden to leave Serbia without the approval of a local military unit. This drove certain individuals to seek illegal ways of leaving the country that was officially not in war conflict. Those who refused to respond to the mandatory military service summon or deserted had two options: hide or leave the country. The number of military servicemen who went abroad imminently before or during the war, who had not served in the army, is unknown. Estimates vary, some go as high as hundreds of thousands and are impossible to verify. A small part of this resistance was articulated as anti-militaristic, and links between rebel soldiers and anti-war activists were not developed, although there were organizations such as the Center for Anti-War Action and the Yugoslav Committee of Human Rights Lawyers, who offered legal aid, while Women in Black provided moral, emotional and sometimes practical support.

Between October 1991 and the spring of 1992, there were around fifty reservist riots in Serbia, with about 55,000 participants, most of whom returned home from the front lines. The mothers of JNA soldiers revolted and charged into the National Assembly of Serbia in early July 1991, requesting the cessation of all armed conflicts, that all servicemen be released from the army and that mandatory military service be served in their (native) republic.

Although general mobilization was never announced, since Serbia did not formally participate in the war, during 1991/1992 some 140,000 people were forcibly mobilized, of which 82,000 in Vojvodina. Estimates show that 25,000 people from Vojvodina, mostly Hungarians, fled to Hungary.

According to sources of the *Vreme* newspaper reporters, around 50% responded to mobilization in Serbia and only 15% in Belgrade, while criminal proceedings were initiated against 10,000 people. Many of those who responded to military service did so by fulfilling their legal obligations, but since the Yugoslav People's Army sided with the Serbs, many deserted, first soldiers from Slovenia and Croatia and then everyone else who refused to participate in the war. Thousands of men were threatened with litigation and imprisonment, and the courts manipulated the initiation of court proceedings and sentence length. In 1993, the General Staff and the Government published data indicating that by the end of 1992 there were 13,672 criminal cases (mainly desertion and refusal to respond to military service).

The summer and fall of 1995 saw the strongest wave of mobilization in Serbia since 1991 and this especially affected refugees. Many of the men who sought security in Serbia after the tragedy and expulsion from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were arrested by Serbian police and paramilitary forces and, often after terrible torture at the Serbian Volunteer Guard camp in Erdut, sent back to the battlefront. According to the Law on Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, refugees were subject to military service, thus violating all human rights of citizens holding refugee status and all international conventions on refugee rights. The police, right in front of the public, seized these people from trams, buses, toll ramps, by means of traffic control, from student dormitories and even proms. Apart from the few organizations that did protest, most of the public agreed that the refugees had to defend their own hearths. From June 12 and 24, 1995, between 2,000 and 4,000 citizens were taken to the battlefront against their will. The police issued a statement denying the mobilization, claiming that it was a case of controlling non-citizens that had no registered place of permanent or temporary residence, or had not regulated their refugee status.

The incomplete Amnesty Act was passed in 1996, pardoning all those who, until the conclusion of the Dayton Agreement, had not responded to military service or had avoided it by going abroad.

In 1999, in Serbia, 22,000 desertions or refusals to meet military service by those who did not wish to participate in the war against NATO were reported to the courts; 7,700 indictments were filed in less than a year. In the year between the NATO bombing and Milošević's fall, military courts sentenced 970 people from one to seven years in prison based on these indictments.

Despite the unanimously adopted 1993 European Parliament resolution on deserters in the former Yugoslavia, the international community did not provide protection for deserters, European countries refused to accept deserters and often forbade them from entering their country, refusing to treat them as refugees and give them the right of asylum.



Pitanja i odgovori:
Izbeglička pitanje u Srbiji

Q&A: The Issue of Refugees in Serbia

1. **Koliko lica je po poslednjim podacima Komesarijata dobilo status izbeglice ili prognanih lica od njegovog osnivanja do 2000. godine? Pitanje se odnosi na lica izbegla iz Slovenije, Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine.**

   537.000

2. **Koliko lica se na popisu ratom ugroženih lica opredelilo za repatrijaciju, a koliko za integraciju?**

   povratak 9% , integracija 60%

3. **Da li su izbeglička udruženja i predstavnici izbeglica učestvovali u pisanju strategija za rešavanje pitanja izbeglih i interno raseljenih lica?**

   Nisu.

4. **Koliko lica se po poslednjim podacima Komesarijata vratilo u zemlje iz kojih su izbegli?**

   130.000

5. **Koliko lica po poslednjim podacima Komesarijata i dalje ima status izbeglica ili prognanih lica, a da su ga stekli devedesetih godina?**

   26.164

6. **Koliko lica je po poslednjim podacima Komesarijata dobilo status interno raseljenog lica tokom i nakon sukoba na Kosovu 1998. i 1999. godine?**

   208.000

7. **Koliko lica se po poslednjim podacima Komesarijata vratilo na Kosovo nakon ratnih sukoba?**

   12.000 lica se vratilo na KiM, od kojih je 4000 ostvarilo održiv povratak.

8. **Koliko lica po poslednjim podacima Komesarijata i dalje ima status interno raseljenih lica, a da su ga stekli devedesetih godina?**

   198.545

9. **Koja je razlika u pravnom statusu između lica koje ima status izbeglice i interno raseljenog lica? Takođe, da li su postojale razlike u pravima koja su uživala ta lica?**

   Razlika između izbeglice i interno raseljenog lica je u tome što izbeglica prelazi međunarodno priznatu granicu, a interno

1. **According to the last records of the Commissariat, how many persons gained the status of refugee or exiled since its founding in 2000? The question concerns persons who have fled Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.**

   537,000

2. **How many persons in the list of war-affected people opted for repatriation and how many for integration?**

   9% for return, 60% for integration

3. **Have refugee associations and refugee representatives participated in writing strategies addressing the issue of refugees and internally displaced persons?**

   No

4. **According to the latest data from the Commissariat, how many people have returned to their countries of origin?**

   130,000

5. **According to the latest data from the Commissariat, how many persons still have refugee or internally displaced person (IDP) status having acquired it in the 1990s?**

   26,164

6. **According to the latest data from the Commissariat, how many persons acquired IDP status during and after the 1998 and 1999 conflicts in Kosovo?**

   208,000

7. **According to the latest data from the Commissariat, how many people returned to Kosovo after the conflict?**

   12,000 persons returned to Kosovo and Metohija of which 4,000 has made a sustainable return.

8. **How many persons, according to the latest data from the Commissariat, still have the IDP status that they acquired in the 1990s?**

   198,545

9. **What is the difference in legal status between a refugee and an internally displaced person? Also, were there any differences in the rights they were granted?**

raseljeno lice je lice koje je s jednog dela teritorije raseljeno na drugi deo teritorije u okviru iste države. Prava izbeglica iz bivših republika SFRJ utvrđena su Zakonom o izbeglicama, a interno raseljena lica sa AP Kosova i Metohije kao državljani Republike Srbije svoja prava u Srbiji ostvaruju kao i ostali građani, s tim da oni svoja prava u Srbiji ostvaruju po osnovu boravišta, a ne prebivališta. Za interno raseljena lica u Srbiji, Komesarijat za izbeglice i migracije svake godine sprovodi programe u svrhu poboljšanja uslova stanovanja ili drugih vidova pomoći, što je regulisano Uredbom koju svake godine donosi Vlada, a na predlog Komesarijata.

10. Koliko lica je sa statusom izbeglice ili interno raseljenog lica po poslednjim podacima Komesarijata otišlo u tzv. treće zemlje?

Izbeglice 42.000, IRL nema podatka

11. Koliko lica se po poslednjim podacima Komesarijata do sada vratilo u Srbiji po osnovu sporazuma o readmisiji, a da su napustili zemlju devedesetih godina?

12.470

12. Koliko je ukupno bilo kolektivnih centara na teritoriji Srbije u kojima su živele porodice koje su stekle status izbeglice, prognanih ili raseljenih lica devedesetih godina, a koliko ih danas ima aktivnih?

Nekada je bilo aktivno 700 kolektivnih centara u kojima je bilo smešteno oko 50.000 lica, dok je danas u 9 kolektivnih centara (jedan u R. Srbiji bez KiM i 8 na KiM) smešteno ukupno 368 izbeglica i IRL.

13. Koliko lica/porodica je ukupno prošlo kroz kolektivne centre? Koliko je procentualno izbeglica bilo u kolektivnom smeštaju, a koliko je zbrinuto na drugi način (smeštaj u porodicama, privatni smeštaj itd.)?

Oko 25% IRL i izbeglica prošlo je kroz kolektivne centre, oko 40% bilo je smešteno kod rodbine i prijatelja, a ostali su sami rešili stambeno pitanje.

14. Ko je imao pravo na smeštaj u kolektivnim centrima i koji su bili kriterijumi za dodeljivanje smeštaja?

IZB i IRL, invalidi, porodice s malom decom, porodice lošeg materijalnog stanja.

The difference between a refugee and internally displaced person is that a refugee crosses an internationally recognized border, while an IDP has been displaced from one part of a territory to another within the same country. The rights of refugees from the former SFRY Republics are regulated by the Law on Refugees and IDP from the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, as citizens of the Republic of Serbia, exercise their rights in Serbia like all of the other citizens, however, they exercise their rights in Serbia on the basis of temporary, not permanent residence. Each year, the Commissariat for refugees and migration implements programs to improve housing conditions and provide other forms of aid for IDP in Serbia; the programs are regulated by a Decree adopted annually by the Government at the proposal of the Commissariat.

10. According to the latest data from the Commissariat, how many persons with refugee or IDP status have moved to so-called third countries?

Refugees – 42,000, IDP – no data

11. How many people, according to the latest data from the Commissariat, have so far returned to Serbia on the basis of the readmission agreement, having left the country in the 1990s?

12,470

12. How many collective centers are there on the territory of Serbia, inhabited by families who acquired refugee, exiled or displaced persons status in the 1990s, and how many are operating today?

There were 700 active collective centers with 50,000 persons living in them, while today, in 9 collective centers (1 in the Republic of Serbia, without Kosovo and Metohija and 8 in Kosovo and Metohija) there are 368 refugees and IDPs.

13. How many persons/families in total went through the collective centers? Speaking in percentage, how many refugees were in collective accommodation and how many were otherwise placed (family accommodation, private accommodation, etc.)?

Approximately 25% IDP and refugees went through the collective centers, around 40% were placed with family and

15. Da li je postojalo vremensko ograničenje korišćenja usluga kolektivnih centara?

Ne, osim ako je korisnik centra trajno rešio stambeno pitanje ili se vratio u zemlju porekla.

16. Koliko lica sa statusom izbeglice/porodica je po poslednjim podacima Komesarijata rešilo svoje stambeno pitanje preko Komesarijata za izbeglice?

Oko 15.500 porodica, tj. 54.250 izbeglica.

17. Koliko lica sa statusom raseljenog lica/porodica je po poslednjim podacima Komesarijata rešilo svoje stambeno pitanje preko Komesarijata za izbeglice?

4.500 porodica

18. Da li postoji podatak koliko lica je izbeglo usled vojnih akcija „Bljesak" i „Oluja"?

190.000

19. Da li postoji razlika u statusu između izbeglica i prognanih lica, i kako se definiše? Takođe, da li su postojale razlike u pravima koja su oni uživali?

Zakon o izbeglicama iz 1992. godine nije predvideo nikakvu razliku između izbeglih i prognanih lica, kao ni u pravima koja su navedena lica imala prema zakonu. Zakonom o izbeglicama iz 2010. godine, sva lica, i izbeglice i prognana lica iz bivših Republika SFRJ izjednačena su, tako da se od 2010. godine za navedene kategorije lica koristi isključivo izraz izbeglice.

20. Da li su vojna lica i njihove porodice koji su došli iz drugih jugoslovenskih republika u Srbiju imali status izbeglica do rešavanja državljanstva?

Zakonom o izbeglicama iz 1992. godine, kao i iz 2010. godine, predviđeno je da se status izbeglice u Republici Srbiji utvrđuje rešenjem koje donosi Komesarijat na zahtev stranke za priznavanje statusa izbeglice. U tom smislu, svim licima koja su izbegla iz bivših republika SFRJ (uključujući vojna lica) koja su i podnela zahtev za priznavanje statusa izbeglice, status izbeglice je priznat rešenjem Komesarijata. Prema saznanjima Komesarijata, najveći broj vojnih lica, uključujući članove

friends, and the rest were able to solve their living arrangements on their own.

14. Who was entitled to accommodation in collective centers and what were the criteria for awarding accommodation?

Refugee and IDP disabled families with small children, economically disadvantaged families.

15. Was there a time limit on the use of collective center services?

No, except if the person in the center had found a permanent solution to his/her accommodation or had returned to his/her country of origin.

16. How many persons/families with refugee status have, according to the latest data from the Commissariat, solved their housing issues through the Refugee Commissariat?

Around 15,500 families, that is, 54,250 refugees.

17. According to the latest data from the Commissariat, how many persons/families with IDP status, have solved their accommodation issues?

4,500 families

18. Is there data on how many persons were displaced due to military operations "Flash" and "Storm"?

190,000

19. Is there a difference in status between refugees and displaced persons, and how is it defined? Also, were differences in the rights they were granted?

The 1992 Law on Refugees did not foresee any distinction between refugees and displaced persons, niether were there differences in rights regulated by the law. The new Law on Refugees from 2010, all persons – refugees and displaced persons from former SFRY Republics are afforded equal status, so that since 2010 for the above mentioned categories, the term refugee is used exclusively.

20. Did military personnel and their families who came from other Yugoslav republics to Serbia have refugee status pending the resolution of their citizenship?

njihovih porodica, nisu podnosili zahtev Komesarijatu za priznavanje statusa izbeglice, te u tom smislu ta lica u Republici Srbiji nisu ni bila izbeglice u skladu sa odredbama zakona o izbeglicama.

Ljubaznošću: Komesarijat za izbeglice i migracije Republike Srbije, oktobar 2019.

Based on the 1992 and 2010 Law(s) on Refugees, it was forseen that the refugee status in the Republic of Serbia should be determined based on a resolution passed by the Commissariat, at the request of the party to acquire recognition for refugee status. In that sense, to all those persons who fled the former Republic of SFRY (including military personell) who also applied for recognition of refugee status, refugee status was recognized by the decision of the Commissariat. According to the knowledge of the Commisariate, most of the military personel, incuding members of their families, did not make an application to the Commissariat for refugee status recognition, and therefore, these persons in the Republic of Serbia were not considered to be refugees in accordance with the provisions of the refugee law.

Courtesy of: Commissariat for Refugees and Migration – the Republic of Serbia, October 2019


tuga
porekla
mamin
i tatin.
ZAGREB
BEOGRAD
MARTA
1993
vratili bi se.
ali.
(ako.)
ovde.


tuga
potencijalnih
putnika
putnici
ne putuju.
nešto ih
odnosi
i donosi.
(premeštanje
nije putovanje.)
putnici
tužno putuju.
BEOGRAD
DECEMBRA
1992
CLEANSING

Biografije

Biographies

Aleksandrija Ajduković je rođena 1975. u Osijeku. Diplomirala je na Akademiji umetnosti BK u Beogradu na Odseku za fotografiju. Master studije je završila u Novom Sadu, a doktorirala na Fakultetu dramskih umetnosti u Beogradu, na Odseku za teoriju dramskih umetnosti, kulture i medija. Trostruka finalistkinja Mangelos nagrade, dobitnica Henkel Art Award za mladog umetnika 2005. i 45. oktobarskog salona.

Kroz portretisanje slučajnih prolaznika, naturščika-modela na elaboriran i duhovit način beleži fenomene vezane za savremeni život i njegove svakodnevne refleksije u domenu mode, pop kulture i lifestylea (ne)urbanih sredina.

Učestvovala u rezidencijalnim radionicama, od kojih je najduži boravak bio u Bjeloj, eksperimentalnoj stanici za umetnost, koju mentorski vodi Mikelanđelo Pistoleto. Radila kao arhivski fotograf u Domu kulture Studentski grad i kao fotograf na filmu. Kao direktorka fotografije i snimateljka radila na više dokumentarnih filmova. Autorka je eksperimentalno-alternativnog filma *Ibarska Highway*, za koji je nagrađena na 66. martovskom festivalu Specijalnim priznanjem žirija, kao i nagradom Living Pictures.

Aleksandrija Ajduković was born in 1975 in Osijek. She graduated photography at the "BK" Academy of Arts in Belgrade, completed her master studies in Novi Sad and obtained a doctorate from the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade, at the department for drama, culture and media theory. She is three-time winner of the Mangelos Award, won the Henkel Young Artist Award for the year 2005 and the 45th October Salon.

Through her portraiture of random passers-by, naturist-models, in an elaborate and humorous way, Aleksandrija Ajduković captures phenomena related to contemporary life and its everyday reflections in the realms of fashion, pop culture and lifestyle of (non) urban environments.

Aleksandrija Ajduković took part in residential workshops, the longest of which was in Bjela, an experimental art station mentored by Michelangelo Pistoleto. She worked as an archive photographer at the Student City Cultural Center and as a film photographer. As director of photography and cinematographer, she has worked on several documentaries. She is the author of the experimental-alternative film Ibarska Highway, for which she received the Special Jury Recognition award at the 66th March Festival and the Living Pictures Award.

Asocijacija APSOLUTNO osnovana je 1993. u Novom Sadu. Članovi su bili Zoran Pantelić, Dragan Rakić (†), Bojana Petrić i Dragan Miletić. Od 1995. godine produkcija je potpisivana bez ličnih imena članova, i kolektiv razvija interdisciplinarni proces rada i medijski pluralizam. Produkcija APSOLUTNO proistekla je iz vizuelnih umetnosti, proširila se na interdisciplinarna istraživanja činjenica iz neposrednog okruženja da bi se otvorile mogućnosti njihovog novog iščitavanja. Projekti su se često realizovali na javnim mestima ili lokacijama posebne namene (npr. brodogradilište, most, groblje, granični prelazi itd.), a u zavisnosti od ideje projekta i u različitim formatima: video, štampani materijali, instalacije, akcije, *site-specific* projekti, audio, veb-projekti itd.

Asocijacija APSOLUTNO je učestvovala na brojnim izložbama, festivalima i simpozijumima u zemlji i inostranstvu. Njihovi radovi se nalaze u zbirkama muzeja savremenih umetnosti i kolekcijama privatnih kolekcionara.

Aktivnost kolektiva prestaje 2005. godine, od kada je iskustvo transferisano i integrisano u nove oblike za kreiranje uslova i propitivanje umetničke produkcije i umetničkog organizovanja (Centar_kuda.org, Novi Sad; VacuumPack, Sombor).

The association APSOLUTNO was founded in 1993 in Novi Sad. Its members were Zoran Pantelić, Dragan Rakić (†), Bojana Petrić and Dragan Miletić. Since 1995, production was signed without the members' personal names, and the collective developed an interdisciplinary work process and media pluralism. The production of APSOLUTNO arose from visual arts and over time it expanded to interdisciplinary research. Their projects often took place in public places or special purposes locations (e.g., shipyard, bridge, cemetery, border crossings, etc.), and depending on the idea of the project, they were realized in various formats: video, print, audio installations, site-specific projects, web projects, etc.

APSOLUTNO presented its production at exhibitions, festivals and symposia, locally and internationally, and its works are to be found in the collections of Contemporary Art Museums and in private collections. The activity of the collective ceased in 2005. Since then its experience has been transferred and integrated in new forms aimed at creating conditions for and examining artistic production and artistic organization (Centar_kuda.org, Novi Sad; VacuumPack, Sombor).

Balint Sombati (Pačir, Vojvodina, 1950) multimedijalni je umetnik u domenu performansa, instalacije, vizuelne poezije, elektrografike, postkonceptualizma, urbane semiologije; pisac, urednik, art organizator. Član-osnivač Grupe Bosch+Bosch (Subotica, 1969–1976) i učesnik manifestacija jugoslovenske „nove umetničke prakse" sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka.

Od 2000. živi u Budimpešti; uređuje časopis za umetnost *Magyar Műhely*, vodi istoimenu galeriju, organizuje zajedničke izložbe mađarskih i stranih umetnika, piše za vodeće umetničke časopise, izdaje knjige. Poslednjih godina bavi se

tematikom rodne zemlje, zavičaja, tj. Heimata, istražujući pojmovne poremećaje ovog termina u svetlu migracija i selidbe naroda, te etničkih entiteta u bliskoj prošlosti.

Izbor nagrada i odlikovanja: Nagrada „Lajos Kassák" za književni rad, Pariz, 1989; Nagrada Izdavačke kuće „Forum" za likovnu umetnost, Novi Sad, 1993; Nagrada „Sava Šumanović" za likovnu umetnost, Novi Sad, 2007; Nagrada „Mihály Munkácsy" za likovno stvaralaštvo, Budimpešta, 2008; Nagrada „Vladislav Ribnikar" za najbolju izložbu u Srbiji 2014, Beograd, 2015; Viteški krst – državno odlikovanje Mađarske za doprinos savremenoj umetničkoj sceni, Budimpešta, 2018.

Bálint Szombathy (Pačir, Vojvodina, 1950) is a multimedia artist working with performance, installation, visual poetry, electrographics, post-conceptualism and urban semiology. He is a writer, editor, and art organizer, founding member of the *Bosch+Bosch* group (Subotica, 1969–1976). He has taken part in the activities organized by the "new art practice" in 1970s Yugoslavia.

Szombathy has been living in Budapest since 2000. He is editor of the art magazine *Magyar Műhely* and head of the homonymous gallery; he organizes group exhibitions of Hungarian and foreign artist, writes for leading art journals, and publishes books. For the last few years he has been engaged in the theme of native land, homeland, i.e. *Heimat*, researching the conceptual discrepancies of this term in the light of migrations and the movements of people and ethnic entities in the recent past.

Most prominent awards and decorations: The Lajos Kassák award for literature, Paris, 1989; The Fine Arts Forum Publishing House Award, Novi Sad, 1993; The Sava Šumanović Award for fine art, Novi Sad, 2007; The Mihály Munkácsy Award for fine art, Budapest, 2008; The Vladislav Ribnikar Award for best exhibition in Serbia for 2014, Belgrade, 2015; The Knight's Cross, national decoration of Hungary for contribution to the contemporary art scene, Budapest, 2018.

Čedomir Vasić, rođen 1948. u Beogradu. Diplomirao 1971. i magistrirao na Slikarskom odseku Akademije za likovne umetnosti 1973. kod profesora Đorđa Bošana. Usavršavao se na Kalifornijskom univerzitetu u Santa Barbari i Los Anđelesu (UCSB & UCLA), kod prof. Micurua Kataoke (video) i prof. Džona Vitnija (kompjuterska umetnost). Bio je profesor na Fakultetu likovnih umetnosti i Fakultetu dramskih umetnosti, kao i na interdisciplinarnim umetničkim studijama Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu.

Izlaže od 1969. godine na mnogim izložbama u zemlji i inostranstvu. Od 1976. bavi se videom kao izražajnim sredstvom (trake, instalacije,ambijenti). Pokrenuo je slikanje murala u Beogradu, 1983. godine. Od 1973. objavljuje stručne i teorijske radove iz oblasti vizuelnih umetosti. Član ULUS-a od 1972. godine.

Izbor nagrada: Nagrada Memorijala „Nadežda Petrović" i nagrada publike, Čačak, 1998; Nagrada 4. bijenala savremenog pejzaža, Pejzaž 2004, Novi Sad, 2004; Nagrada na Jesenjoj izložbi ULUS-a, Beograd, 2010; Nagrada lista „Politika" za likovnu umetnost iz Fonda Vladislava Ribnikara za najbolju izložbu održanu 2013/2014; Nagrada za likovnu umetnost „Sava Šumanović", Novi Sad 2015; Nagrada Niškog salona 12/2, Niš, 2017.

Čedomir Vasić was born in Belgrade in 1948. He graduated in 1971 and received a master's degree in painting in 1973 from the Academy of Fine Arts, under the mentorship of Professor Đorđe Bošan. He studied at the University of California, Santa Barbara and Los Angeles (UCSB & UCLA) under Prof. Micurua Kataoke (video) and Prof. John Whitney (computer art).

Vasić was a professor at the Faculty of Fine Arts and the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade, as well as the Interdisciplinary Art Studies program of the University of Arts in Belgrade.

He has been exhibiting since 1969 both in the country and abroad.

Since 1976 he has used video as a means of expression (tapes, installations, ambient pieces). Vasić started painting murals in Belgrade in 1983. He has been publishing critical and theoretical works in the field of visual arts since 1973 and has been a member of ULUS (the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia) since 1972.

Most prominent awards: The Nadežda Petrović Memorial Award and Audience Award, Čačak, 1998; the 4th Biennial Award for Contemporary Landscape, Landscape 2004, Novi Sad, 2004; the ULUS Autumn Exhibition Award, Belgrade, 2010; the Vladislav Ribnikar Fund – *Politika* Fine Arts Award for best exhibition in 2013, 2014; the Sava Šumanović Award for Fine Arts, Novi Sad, 2015; the Niš Salon 12/2 Award, Niš, 2017.

Dejan Dimitrijević živi u Torontu i radi kao umetnik, dizajner i tehnolog koji kreira radove za privatne i javne kompanije. Otkako je završio master studije na Fakultetu likovnih umetnosti (Univerzitet u Beogradu) 1996. godine, koristi kompjuterske tehnologije da kreira i istražuje nove granice kreativnosti. Kako se odvijalo njegovo putovanje kroz kompjuterski generisani svet umetnosti, ono je počelo da se preoblikuje u onlajn interaktivna medijska iskustva koja inspirišu brojnu publiku.

Aktivno izlaže od 1995. godine, a intenzivno je sarađivao s Galerijom SKC (Beograd), Galerijom savremene umetno-

sti (Pančevo), Radionicom 301 Arhitektonskog fakulteta (Univerzitet u Beogradu), Galerijom *Zlatno oko* i Muzejom savremene umetnosti Vojvodine (Novi Sad) i *Galleryom 1313* (Toronto).

Preselio se 1999. u Montreal (Kanada), a 2000. godine u Toronto, gde i danas živi.

http://www.cifactory.net/CIF012/

Dejan Dimitrijević is a Toronto-based artist, designer and technologist producing work for private and public companies. Since 1996 when he received his MFA degree at the Faculty of Fine Art at the University of Arts in Belgrade, he has been using computer technology to create and explore new frontiers of creativities. As time progressed on his journey into the computer-generated art world, it began to morph into an online interactive media experience that inspired a large audience.

He has been exhibiting actively since 1995 and has collaborated intensively with SKC Gallery (*The Students Cultural Centre Gallery,* Belgrade), the Gallery of Contemporarily Art (Pančevo), Workstation 301 – Faculty of Architecture (Belgrade University), the Golden Eye Gallery and Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina (in Novi Sad) and Gallery 1313 (Toronto).

He first moved to Montreal Canada in 1999 and later, in 2000, to Toronto where he is currently residing.

http://www.cifactory.net/CIF012/

Dionis Eskorsa počeo je svoj rad ranih devedesetih kao slikar, postepeno proširujući opseg svojih interesovanja na fotografiju, instalacije i video. Rad u ovim poljima, postepeno ga je vodio ka upotrebi audio-vizuelnog jezika kao sredstva poetskog i ideološkog aktivizma, narativnog okvira koji mu omogućava istraživanje kodova reprezentacije i percepcije slike kroz iskustvo i pamćenje, nudeći, tako, pravce delovanja u kojima metafora i simbol uvek igraju istaknutu ulogu. U svim svojim video-produkcijama, u kojima uglavnom radi sa amaterskim glumcima na istraživanju specifičnih geografskih konteksta, Eskorsa bira metaforični i oneirički jezik koji mu omogućava izražavanje nelinearnosti misli.

Dionis Escorsa started out as a painter in the early 1990s and gradually broadened the scope of his work to include photography, installations and video. His work in these fields gradually led him towards the use of audiovisual language as a means of poetic and ideological activism; a narrative framework that allows him to explore the codes of representation and perception of the image through experience and memory, thus offering lines of action in which the metaphor and the symbol always play a prominent role. In all of his video productions, where he mostly works with amateur actors exploring specific geographical contexts, Escorsa chooses a metaphorical and oneiric language that allows him to express the non-linearity of thought.

Dušica Dražić je umetnica i kustoskinja. Ona istražuje prostore neregularnosti bremenite političkim značenjem, analizira njihove transformacije i promišlja ih u ravni kulturnog kontinuiteta. Istorija mesta i kontrastne interpretacije iste prošlosti od samog početka se nalaze u prvom planu njenog praktičnog rada. Vrlo često, kompleksnost subjekta podrazumeva kombinaciju naučnih i umetničkih pristupa koji stimulišu transdisciplinarni i kolaborativni rad. Dušica Dražić je dobitnica nagrade „Dimitrije Bašičević Mangelos" i nagrade *Young European Artist Trieste Contemporanea* za 2010. godinu. Izlagala je radove u inostranstvu na samostalnim i grupnim izložbama, a učestvovala je u rezidencijalnim programima Q21 (Beč, 2018), IASPIS (Stokholm, 2015), *KulturKontakt* (Beč, 2013), *TimeLab* (Gent, 2012), *Tobačna 001* (Ljubljana, 2011) i ISCP (Njujork, 2010).

Dušica Dražić i Vim Jansen su 2018. godine osnovali *OUT OF SIGHT – A venue for contemporary art in Antwerp* [mesto za savremenu umetnost u Antverpenu].

www.dusicadrazic.com

www.out-of-sight.be

Dušica Dražić is an artist and curator that explores spaces of irregularity that carry strong political meaning. She analyses their transformation and examines them on the level of cultural continuity. The history of the place and opposing interpretations of the same past were always in the foreground of her practice. Often the complexity of the subject entails a combination of scientific and artistic approaches, that fosters transdisciplinary and collaborative work. Dražić recieved the "Dimitrije Bašičević Mangelos" Award and "Young European Artist Trieste Contemporanea" Award in 2010. She has exhibited works internationally in solo and group exhibitions and was a resident at Q21 (Vienna 2018), IASPIS (Stockholm, 2015), KulturKontakt (Vienna, 2013), TimeLab (Ghent, 2012), Tobačna 001 (Ljubljana, 2011) and ISCP (NYC, 2010).

In 2018 Dušica Dražić and Wim Janssen founded OUT OF SIGHT – A venue for contemporary art in Antwerp.

www.dusicadrazic.com

www.out-of-sight.be

Goranka Matić je rođena 1949. godine u Mariboru, Slovenija. Završila je istoriju umetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu. Fotografijom se bavi od 1980. godine. Objavljivala je

u časopisima „Džuboks" i „Start". Bila je urednica fotografije u nedeljniku „Vreme" i dnevnom listu „Politika", a od 2010. godine radi na Radio-televiziji Srbije u art direkciji. Osam godina je predavala foto-žurnalizam na Fakultetu političkih nauka u Beogradu. Članica je ULUPUDS-a od 1986. Izlagala je u zemlji i inostranstvu i dobitnica je nagrada „Oktobarski salon" 1989, „Osvajanje slobode" 2002. i „Politikine" nagrade 2004. godine. Objavila je knjige *Dani bola i ponosa* i *Deset*.

Goranka Matić was born in 1949 in Maribor, Slovenia. She studied Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. She has been involved in photography since 1980 and has published in magazines *Džuboks* and *Start*. She was photography editor for the weekly magazine *Vreme* and daily paper *Politika* and since 2010 she has been working in the art department of Radio Television of Serbia. Goranka Matić taught photojournalism at the Faculty of Political Science in Belgrade for eight years. She has been a member of ULUPUDS since 1986, has exhibited at home and abroad, and won the October Salon Award (1989), the Freedom Conquest award (2002) and the "Politika Prize" (2004). She published the books *Days of Pain and Pride* and *Ten Years Against*.

Grupa 484 je neprofitna, nevladina organizacija koja osnažuje „prisilne migrante" (izbeglice, interno raseljena lice, azilante) da aktivno učestvuju u ostvarivanju svojih prava, a lokalno stanovništvo, posebno mlade, podstiče da prihvate i poštuju različitosti. Osnovana je 1995. godine da bi podržala samoorganizovanje 484 porodice koje su, usled akcije hrvatske vojske „Oluja", izbegle iz Krajine u Srbiju. Osnivačica Grupe 484 je Jelena Šantić, primabalerina, spisateljica i aktivistkinja, koja je okupila pojedince posvećene pružanju humanitarne, psihosocijalne, pravne i informativne pomoći izbeglima. Prve godine postojanja Grupe obeležio je direktan rad sa izbeglicama, uz paralelno osnaživanje i samih članica i članova Grupe i organizacije u celini. Delokrug aktivnosti je postepeno proširen edukativnim i istraživačkim radom, te saradnjom s donosiocima odluka sa ciljem iznalaženja sistemskih rešenja za probleme prisilnih migracija i migracija uopšte.

Group 484 is a non-profit, non-governmental organization that empowers "forced migrants" (refugees, internally displaced persons, asylum seekers) to actively participate in exercising their rights, and encourages the local population, especially young people, to accept and respect diversity. It was established in 1995 to support the self-organization of 484 families that fled from Krajina to Serbia as a result of the Croatian Army's Operation Storm. The founder of Group 484 is Jelena Šantić, a prima ballerina, writer and activist, who brought together individuals dedicated to providing humanitarian, psychosocial, legal and information assistance to refugees. The first year of the Group's work was marked by direct work with refugees alongside the empowerment of Group members and the organization as a whole. The scope of activities was gradually expanded to include educational and research work, as well as cooperation with decision makers, with the aim of finding systemic solutions to the problems of forced migration and migration in general.

Ivana Momčilović je dramaturškinja, pesnikinja, istraživačica, prevoditeljka i urednica koja živi u Briselu. Njen rad se fokusira na izmeštanje filozofije i umetnosti u različite sfere svakodnevnog života (inicijatorka je „Kulturnog komiteta za 13 optuženih radnika fabrike čelika Klabek [*Clabecq*] i Reno Belgija" 2000. godine; „Kulturnog komiteta za kretanje nedokumentovanih imigranata, Belgija"). Radi na istraživanju odnosa između fikcije i ideologije, i istražuje odnose između estetike, politike i obrazovanja (institucionalnog/neinstitucionalnog znanja) i oblika kolektivne inteligencije ljudi. Inicijatorka je i aktivna članica nekoliko kolektiva: *Collective E-I-Migrative Art* (1992, Belgija); *Edicija Jugoslavija* (samizdat, sa fokusom na teoriju/poetiku emancipacije i jednakosti + nadrealizam, 2009). Osnovala je *PhD in One Night* („Doktorat za jednu noć") – platformu za estetsku emancipaciju *svih* (Finska, Belgija, Vis) 2007. godine. Skorašnji radovi: *Course about Inexplicable – Indisciplinary Symphony* („Kurs o neobjašnjivom/ Indisciplinarna simfonija"; Helsinki, Jun 2019), film: *Poems from which we learned* („Pesme iz kojih smo učili"; premijera u Helsinkiju, Pragu, 2019).

Ivana Momčilović is a dramatist, poet, researcher, translator and editor based in Brussels. Her work is focused on the displacement of philosophy and art in various spheres of everyday life (she is co-founder of the *Cultural Committee for 13 charged workers of the steel factory Clabecq and Renault Belgium in 2000; Cultural Committee for the Movement of Undocumented Immigrants, Belgium*). She works on exploring the relationship between fiction and ideology, and researches the relations between aesthetics, politics and education (institutional/non-institutional knowledge) and forms of human collective intelligence. She is initiator and active member of several collectives: *Collective E-I-Migrative Art* (1992, Belgium); *Edicija Jugoslavija* (samizdat, focused on the theory/poetics of emancipation and equality + surrealism, 2009). In 2007 she founded the *PhD In One Night* platform of aesthetic emancipation *for all* (Finland, Belgium, Vis). Recent works: *Course about Inexplicable/ Indisciplinary Symphony* (Helsinki June 2019), film *Poems from which we learned* (premiere in Helsinki, Prague 2019).

Jusuf Hadžifejzović rođen je 1956. godine u Prijepolju, Jugoslavija. Srednju školu primenjenih umetnosti pohađao je u Sarajevu, slikarstvo je studirao na Akademiji likovnih umetnosti u Beogradu, u klasi prof. Stojana Ćelića. Pohađao je postdiplomske studije na Državnoj umetničkoj akademiji u Dizeldorfu, u klasi prof. Klausa Rinkea. Godine 1984. osniva Jugoslovenska dokumenta i realizuje ih u saradnji sa R. Tadićem i S. A. Bukvićem u Sarajevu. Izložba Jugoslovenska dokumenta će dovesti Sarajevo u žižu interesovanja jugoslovenske ali i svetske umetničke scene sredinom osamdesetih godina prošlog veka, a kasnije i kolekcije Ars Aevi, budućeg sarajevskog muzeja savremene umetnosti. Iz Belgije, gde je živeo 12 godina, vratio se u Sarajevo. Hadžifejzović je pokretač i umetnički direktor kultne sarajevske galerije Čarlama. Samostalno je izlagao širom sveta, učestvovao na brojnim relevantnim međunarodnim grupnim izložbama, od Berlina do Koreje.

Jusuf trenutno živi u Antverpenu i Sarajevu.

Jusuf Hadžifejzović was born in 1956 in Prijepolje, Yugoslavia. He attended the Secondary School of Applied Arts in Sarajevo and studied painting at the Academy of Fine Arts in Belgrade, in the class of Professor Stojan Ćelić. He attended postgraduate studies at the State Art Academy in Dusseldorf, in the class of Professor Klaus Rinke. In 1984, together with R. Tadić and S. A. Bukvić, he founded the *Yugoslav Documents,* which caused quite a stir in Sarajevo and placed the city in the center of the Yugoslav as well as the world art scene, and later the collections of Ars Aevi, the future Sarajevo Museum of Contemporary Art. He returned to Sarajevo from Belgium, where he lived for 12 years. Hadžifejzović is the instigator and art director of the cult Sarajevo-based gallery *Čarlama*. He exhibited worldwide, took part in numerous relevant international group exhibitions, from Berlin to Korea.

Jusuf is currently living in Antwerp and Sarajevo.

Jelena Šantić (1944–2000) bila je primabalerina i jedna od najznačajnijih mirovnih aktivistkinja u Srbiji i zemljama bivše Jugoslavije. Školovanje je završila u rodnom Beogradu, a usavršavala se u Monte Karlu, Kanu, Nici, kao i u Moskvi. Od 1963. bila je članica Narodnog pozorišta u Beogradu, gde je odigrala veliki broj uloga, poput Žizele, Odilije, Vile Jorgovan, Mirte, Julije u *U baštama Granade*, Ase u *Per Gintu*, Nastasje Filipovne i dr. Kreirala je koreografije za veliki broj dramskih predstava i filmova. Bila je članica i saradnica mnogih međunarodnih i domaćih stručnih časopisa i mreža. Autorka je monografije *Dušan Trninić* i priređivačica knjige *Moj život* o Magi Magazinović. Od 1991, tokom konflikta u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije, bila je pokretačica mnogih mirovnih akcija, mreža za saradnju u regionu i liderka u inicijativama za pomoć izbeglicama. Godine 1995. osnovala je Grupu 484, jednu od najznačajnijih organizacija civilnog društva u Srbiji u oblasti migracija, koja je od početka pružala podršku izbeglicama. Za mirovne aktivnosti *Pax Christi Internationali* 1996. dodelio joj je godišnju nagradu za mir. Dva parka nose njeno ime, Park u berlinskom okrugu Helersdorf i Park mira *Jelena Šantić* u Beogradu, u kom je postavljena i spomen-ploča posvećena Jeleni Šantić. U Istorijskom arhivu Beograda otvoren je Legat Jelene Šantić.

Jelena Šantić (1944–2000) was a prima ballerina and one of the most important peace activists of Serbia and the former Yugoslavia. She completed her education in her hometown, Belgrade, and specialized in Monte Carlo, Cannes and Nice, as well as Moscow. In 1963 she became a member of the National Theatre in Belgrade where she played many roles: Giselle, Odile, the Lylac Fary, Myrtha, Juliette in *In the Gardens of Granada*, Åse in *Peer Gynt*, Nastasya Filippovna, etc. Šantić choreographed many theatre plays and films. She is the author of the monograph *Dušan Trninić* and the editor of the book *My Life* about Maga Magazinović [t/n: founder of modern dance in Serbia]. From 1991, with the start of conflict in the former Yugoslavia, she pioneered many peace actions, networks for regional collaboration and was the leader of refugee aid initiatives. In 1995 she founded Group 484, one of the most important NGOs dealing with migrations in Serbia, which was from the beginning committed to providing support for refugees. In 1996 *Pax Christi International* awarded her its annual peace award. Two parks carry her name: the Jelena-Šantić-Friedenspark in Berlin's Hellersdorf locality and the Jelena Šantić Peace Park in Belgrade (where there is also a memorial plaque dedicated to her). Also, The Jelena Šantić Legacy was founded as part of the Historical Archives of Belgrade.

Udruženje *Kardan* je organizacija posvećena negovanju kulture sećanja u umetnosti, medijima i humanističkim naukama. Primarni cilj *Kardana* je unapređenje politike sećanja u Srbiji, posebno sećanja i pamćenja u vezi s raspadom SFRJ, kao i saradnja s organizacijama u regionu na projektima koji će doprineti međususedskim odnosima. Segment projekta „Paralelne stvarnosti Kosova i Srbije: sećanja na NATO intervenciju", realizovanog u saradnji s udruženjem Grain u Ustanovi kulture Stari grad 2019. godine, prikazan je na izložbi *Devedesete: Rečnik migracija*.

Kardan je s grupom saradnika i kolega osnovala Jelena Grujić Zindović, koja se 25 godina bavila novinarstvom, pretežno fokusirana na pristup pravima marginalizovanih grupa u Srbiji, naročito žrtava ratova u regionu 90-ih godina. Bila je i dugogodišnja saradnica Fonda za humanitarno pravo, kao i drugih nevladinih organizacija u Srbiji i regionu, posvećenih antiratnim aktivnostima. Jelena Grujić Zindović

diplomirala je etnologiju i antropologiju na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu.

***Kardan* Association** is an organization dedicated to nurturing remembrance culture through art, the media and humanities. The primary aim of *Kardan* is the development of the politics of remembrance in Serbia, especially remembrance and memory referring to the breakup of the SFRY, as well as the cooperation with organizations in the region on projects that will facilitate neighborly relations. Part of the project *The Parallel Realities of Kosovo and Serbia: Remembering the NATO Intervention,* realized in collaboration with the association *Grain* in the *Stari grad* Cultural Center in 2019, is presented in the exhibition *The Nineties: A Glossary of Migrations in Serbia*.

With a group of collaborators and colleagues, *Kardan* was founded by Jelena Grujić Zindović who had worked for 25 years in journalism, primarily focusing on the questions of the availability of rights for marginalized groups in Serbia, especially victims of war in the region during the 1990s. She was also a longtime contributor to the Humanitarian Law Center and other NGOs in Serbia and the region dedicated to anti-war activities. Jelena Grujić Zindović has a bachelor's degree in ethnology and anthropology from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

***Kiosk* – platforma za savremenu umetnost** prisutna je na domaćoj sceni od 2003. godine. *Kiosk* su osnovale umetnica Ana Adamović i istoričarka umetnosti Milica Pekić, koje i danas čine glavni kreativni tim organizacije. U prethodnih više od petnaest godina rada Kiosk je realizovao preko dvadeset projekata, izložbi i publikacija. Kiosk projekti najčešće uključuju veliki broj saradnika: umetnika i profesionalaca iz polja kulture, kao i građana, odnosno najšire publike. Kiosk je nagrađen za svoj rad nagradom Erste fondacije za društvenu integraciju 2008. godine za projekat „Komunikacija", kao i nagradom Bizart iste godine za projekat „Pokreni grad", realizovan u saradnji s Telenor fondacijom. Kiosk je jedan od osnivača Asocijacije nezavisne kulturne scene Srbije i regionalne asocijacije Kooperativa.

***Kiosk* – Platform for Contemporary Art** has been active in the local scene since 2003. Artist Ana Adamović and art historian Milica Pekić who founded *Kiosk,* continue to form the core creative team of the organization. In over 15 years, *Kiosk* has realized over twenty projects, exhibitions, and publications. *Kiosk's* projects often involve many collaborators – artists and professionals working in culture, including citizens, members of the wider public. In 2008, *Kiosk* was awarded the Erste Foundation Award for Social Integration for its project *Communication,* as well as the Bizart Award for the project Move the City [*Pokreni grad*] realized in collaboration with the Telenor Foundation. *Kiosk* is one of the founders of the Independent Cultural Scene of Serbia Association and the regional association Cooperative [*Kooperativa*].

Kolektiv *Migrative Art* (1991–1996) kolektiv je jugoslovenskih umetnika u egzilu čiji je cilj bilo pozivanje umetnika iz postjugoslovenskog prostora na susrete i okupljanja. Period od 1992. do 1996. godine obuhvatio je različite lokacije – Brisel, Antverpen, Luven la Nev, Eš sir Alzet i Luksemburg. *Migrative Art* je „oslobodio teritorije" činovima „umetničke okupacije". Organizacija „nemogućih susreta" predstavlja jedno od ključnih umetničkih dela Kolektiva, pored njihovih psiho-geografskih urbanih šetnji: *Little-Mini-Micro Magic* („Male-mini-mikro magije") u belgijskom studentskom gradu Luven la Nev i umetnička akcija *Burying Artworks with the Goal of Excavating them when the War Stops* („Zakopavanje umetničkih radova sa ciljem otkopavanja kada rat prođe"). Jedan od ciljeva Kolektiva bio je i da „uvede umetnost" u belgijske univerzitete i približi je belgijskim studentima. Utemeljivački akt Kolektiva predstavljala je teritorija *n° 0*, „oslobođena" u Beogradu, u jesen 1991. godine, tokom foto-akcije *Where Am I When My Country Calls Me to War?* („Gde sam kada me moja zemlja zove u rat?"). Od tada, Kolektiv je oslobodio oko 20 teritorija Beneluksa. Godine 1996. Kolektiv je promenio ime u Kolektiv *E-I-Migrative Art* i usmerio se na lokalne politike zemalja u kojima su njegovi članovi našli utočište.

Kolektiv (*E-I-)Migrative Art* – delovao je sa pomoću i uz pomoć (u različitim temporalnostima): Ivane Momčilović, Ljubomira Jakića, Sonje Savić, Martina van der Belena, Branka Potočana, Helene Klakočar, Milana Vukšića Cikija, Zlatka Burića, Heninga Friman Larsena, Šarli Kejsa, Mari Pjer de Busire, Dragana Živadinova, *Partibrejkersa*, *International Telepathic Group*, Ademira Arepovića, Mirsada Jazića, Mrđana Bajića, Jasena Jakića, Vlatka Šimca, Maje Bajević, Borisa Bakala, Jelice Radovanović, Dejana Anđelkovića, Vojislava Savića, Ramba Amadeusa, Mirjane Danilović, Aleša Kurta, Sanje Džeba i mnogih drugih.

Kolektiv (*E-I-)Migrative Art* imao je podršku i izražava zahvalnost: Mišelu Morantinu, Kat Tilim porodici Tomašević-Gemoetz, timu *KulturFabrik – Eš sur Alzet*, Polu Hermanu, Žeromu d Emptin, Dafne d Emptin, Filipu Gromberu, Silviji Somen iz *Theatre Varia* i mnogim drugim.

Collective *Migrative Art* (1991–1996) was a collective of artists from ex-Yugoslavia living in exile, inviting artists from the post-Yugoslav area to encounters and gatherings. The period between 1992 and 1996 covered various locations – Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain-la-Neuve, Esch-sur-Alzette, and

Luxemburg. *Migrative Art* "liberated territories" through acts of "artistic occupation". The organization of an "impossible encounter" was the Collective's major artwork, besides their psycho-geographical urban walks: *Little-Mini-Micro Magic* in the Belgian student city Louvain la Neuve and the art-action *Burying Artworks with the Goal of Excavating them when the War Stops*. The collective's aim was also to "introduce art" to Belgian universities and Belgian students. A departure for the Collective was the territory *n° 0*, "liberated" in Belgrade in the fall of 1991 during the photo action *Where Am I When My Country Calls Me to War?* Since then, the Collective liberated around 20 more territories in Benelux. In 1996, the collective changed its name to Collective *E-I-Migrative Art*, focusing on the local politics of the countries where its participants found exile.

Collective *E-I-Migrative Art* – with and by (in different temporalities): Ivana Momčilović, Ljubomir Jakić, Sonja Savić, Martin Van Der Belen, Branko Potočan, Helena Klakočar, Milan Vukšić-Ciki, Zlatko Burić, Charley Case, Marie Pierre de Buisssret, Jérome de Hemptinne, Dragan Živadinov, Partibrejkersi, International Telepathic Group, Ademir Arepović, Mirsad Jazić, Mrđan Bajić, Jasen Jakić, Vlatka Šimac, Maja Bajević, Boris Bakal, Jelica Radovanović, Dejan Anđelkovic, Vojislav Savić, Rambo Amadeus, Mirjana Danilović, Aleš Kurt, Sanja Džeba and many others...

Collective *E-I-Migrative Art* is grateful for the support of Kaat Tilley, Tomašević-Gemoetz family, Michel Morantin, the team of *KulturFabrik Esche-sur-Alzette*, Paul Herman, Daphné de Hemptinne, Philippe Grombeer and Sylvie Somen from *Theatre Varia* and many others...

Loran Vanson, rođen u Uiu (Huy), Belgija. Diplomirao na INSAS (Akademija za film i pozorište u Briselu), odeljenje Pozorište i kulturna akcija. Predavač na Konzervatorijumu u Liežu, klasa Maksa Profondrija (Max Parfondry) od 1990. do 1999; predavač na Konzervatorijumu u Monsu, klasa Frederika Disena (Frédéric Dussenne) od 1998; predavač na Insasu, sekcija glume, od 1998; predavač na Konzervatorijumu Brisel, klasa Bernara Marbaksa (Bernard Marbaix).

Izbor nagrada: Nagrada grada Brisela za najbolji spektakl, 1996; laureat mladih talenata provincije Lijež – sekcija izvođačkih umetnosti, 1999; nagrada najboljem reditelju za predstavu *Čekajući Godoa*, 2001; specijalna nagrada za Ambasadore senki pri pozorišnoj nagradi, 2001; tri nominacije za nagradu O.C.E. scenskih umetnosti, 1998, 2000, 2001.

Lorent Wanson was born in Huy, Belgium. Graduated at INSAS (*Institut national supérieur des arts du spectacle et des techniques de diffusion*), Theatre and Cultural Action Department. He lectured at the Conservatory in Liège, class of Max Parfondry, 1990–1999;the Conservatory in Mons, class of Frédéric Dussenne, since 1998;at INSAS, acting department, since 1998; *Conservatoire de Bruxelles*, class of professor Bernard Marbaix.

Awards: Brussels City Award for Best Spectacle, 1996; the young talents of the province of Liègelaureate – Performing Arts Section 1999; Best Director award for *Waiting for Godo*t, 2001; Special Award for *Shadow Ambassadors,* part of the Theater Award, 2001; three nominations for O.C.E. performing arts, 1998, 2000, 2001.

Milena Maksimović (1976–2014), rođena je i živela u Pančevu. Diplomirala je na Višoj politehničkoj školi u Beogradu 1998. godine. Pohađala je kurseve u alternativnim beogradskim školama poput Centra za ženske studije i Škole za istoriju i teoriju umetnosti CSUB. Učestvovala je u radu fotografske radionice „Kaleidoskop". Izlagala je na više od 30 grupnih izložbi u zemlji i inostranstvu (Beograd, Vršac, Zagreb, Oslo, London, Varšava, Prag, Tirana, Šangaj) i imala tri samostalne izložbe. Objavila je fotografije u promotivnom materijalu za kampanju „Kvalitetno obrazovanje za sve", Veliki Mali, Pančevo, kao i u brošuri za projekat „Kultura se piše srcem", Ministarstva kulture Republike Srbije i u brojnim dnevnim novinama i stručnim periodičnim časopisima, kao sto su *Literaturen*, *3+4*, *Prelom*, *Rukopisi*, *Ludus*, *Vreme*, *Pančevac*. Sarađivala je kao fotografkinja na promotivnim javnim akcijama nevladinih organizacija NVO-PVO. Autorka je ekološke foto-kampanje EKO-PA, objavljene u nedeljniku *Pančevac*i multimedijalnog projekta na CD-u MAPA Mapiranje Pančeva. Dobitnica je nagrade Salona 02 Pančevo, 2002.

Milena Maksimović (1976–2014) was born and lived in Pančevo. She graduated from the Polytechnical College – Belgrade in 1998. She attended courses at various Belgrade-based alternative schools (The Women's Studies Center and The School for History and Theory of Images, CCAB). She attended the Kaleidoscope photography workshop.

Milena Maksimović has displayed her work in more than thirty exhibitions in Serbia and abroad (Belgrade, Vršac, Zagreb, Oslo, London, Warsaw, Prague, Tirana, Shanghai). She has had three solo exhibitions and her photographs were published as promotional material for the campaign Quality Education for Everyone, BigSmall, Pančevo, as well as in a brochure for the project Culture is Written with (the) Heart, initiated by the Serbian Ministry of Culture. She has published her photographs in various newspapers and periodicals: *Literaturen, 3+4, Prelom, Rukopisi, Ludus, Vreme*. As a photographer, Milena Maksimović collaborated on the public promotional activities of non-government organizations (NVO-PVO). She is the creator of the ecological photo-campaign EKO-PA, published in the weekly

newspaper Pančevac, and the multimedia CD project "MAPA – Mapping of Pančevo". Maksimović is winner of the Salon 02 Prize, Pančevo 2002.

Milorad Mladenović, rođen je 1966. u Beogradu. Diplomirao je i doktorirao na FLU u Beogradu, a diplomirao je i na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu, na kome radi od 1995. godine; sada je u zvanju redovnog profesora. Aktivno se bavi vizuelnim umetnostima i arhitekturom. Izlagao je na velikom broju izložbi iz ovih oblasti u zemlji i inostranstvu. Više puta je nagrađivan za svoj rad. Dobitnik je tri nagrade na Oktobarskim salonima u Beogradu (2000, 2003 i 2014), Glavne nagrade Memorijala „Nadežde Petrović" u Čačku (2000) i drugih značajnih nagrada i priznanja iz oblasti vizuelnih umetnosti i arhitekture. Izlagao je svoje radove, između ostalog, u bečkoj Secesiji (2004), u beogradskom MSU (2005 i 2012), na 10. venecijanskom bijenalu arhitekture (2006), u beogradskom Salonu MSU (2011) i Likovnoj galeriji KCB (2016). Povremeno objavljuje tekstove iz oblasti vizuelnih umetnosti i arhitekture.

www.miloradmladenovic.com

Milorad Mladenović was born in 1966 in Belgrade. He graduated and obtained his PhD at the Faculty of Fine Arts in Belgrade. He also graduated at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, where he has been working since 1995 and is currently a professor. He is actively engaged in visual arts and architecture, and has participated in many exhibitions in Serbia and abroad.

Mladenović received many awards for his work. He has won three awards at the October Salons in Belgrade (in 2000, 2003 and 2014), First prizes of the Nadežda Petrović Memorial in Čačak (2000) and other significant awards and recognitions in the fields of visual arts and architecture. His works have been exhibited at the Vienna Secession (2004), Belgrade's Museum of Contemporary Art (2005 and 2012), the 10th International Architecture Exhibition at the 2006 Venice Biennale of Architecture, at the Salon of Belgrade's Museum of Contemporary Art (2011) and the Cultural Center of Belgrade Art Gallery (2016). Occasionally he contributes articles on visual arts and architecture.

www.miloradmladenovic.com

Nebojša Šerić Šoba, rođen u Sarajevu 1968. godine. Šoba je studirao na Školi za primenjenu umetnost od 1983. do 1987. godine, a nakon toga na Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti – Sarajevo od 1989. do 1992. godine. Preselio se u Amsterdam 1999. i pohađao dvogodišnji umetnički rezidencijalni i studijski program pri *Rijksakademie.* Šoba je izlagao u muzejima i umetničkim prostorima širom sveta, uključujući *Musee d'Art Moderne de la Ville* (Pariz); *Jeu de Paume* (Pariz); *Kunsthalle Bern* (Švajcarska); *Museum moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien* (Beč, Austrija); *Deutsches Hygiene Museum* (Drezden, Nemačka), *Kunstmuseum Bochum* (Bohum, Nemačka); *De Appel* (Amsterdam, Holandija), *Moderna Museet* (Stokholm, Švedska), *Creative Time* (Njujork), *Exit Art* (Njujork), *Dumbo Arts Center* (Njujork), *National Gallery of Victoria* (Melburn, Australija), kao i na 50. bijenalu umetnosti u Veneciji, *MASS MoCA* (Muzeju savremene umetnosti Masačusets; grad Nort Adams, Masačusets) i *MoMA PS1* (Njujork).

Šoba trenutno živi u Njujorku.

http://www.shobaart.com

Nebojša Šerić – Shoba was born in Sarajevo in 1968, Shoba studied at the School of Applied Arts from 1983 to 1987, and then the Sarajevo Academy of Fine Arts from 1989 to 1992. In 1999 he moved to Amsterdam to attend Rijksakademie, an international two-year artist residency and studio program. Shoba has been exhibited in museums and art spaces worldwide, including Musee d'Art Moderne de la Ville, Paris; Jeu de Paume, Paris, France; Kunsthalle Bern, Bern, Switzerland; Museum moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, Austria; Deutsches Hygiene Museum, Dresden, Kunstmuseum Bochum, Germany; De Appel, Amsterdam, Netherlands; Moderna Museet, Stockholm, Sweden; Creative Time, New York City; Exit Art, New York City, Dumbo Arts Center, New York City; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia; The 50th Venice Biennale, Venice, Italy; MASS MoCA, North Adams, MA, and P.S. 1, New York City.

Shoba is currently living in New York City.

http://www.shobaart.com

Nikola Radić Lucati, rođen 1971, usmerio je svoj rad na tačke preseka istorije, ljudskih prava i kulture. Njegovi radovi su reakcije na obrasce po kojima uzročnici događaja kroz ekonomske transakcije formiraju narativne strukture, kojima utiču na stanje ljudskih prava i sloboda. Kontekst ovih transakcija i njihovih posledica sagledava se s pozicija istraživača, svedoka i analitičara, u pokušaju uticanja na njihove ishode javnom primenom procesa i zaključaka istraživanja kroz medije fotografije, teksta i instalacije.

Nikola Radić Lucati, born in 1971, has focused his work on the points of intersection of history, human rights and culture. His works are reactions to patterns by which the causes of events through economic transactions form narrative structures that affect the state of human rights and freedoms. The context of these transactions and their consequences are considered from the positions of researchers, witnesses and analysts, in an attempt to influence their

outcomes by publicly applying processes and conclusions of the research through the media of photography, text and installation.

Rena Redle i Vladan Jeremić žive u Beogradu. Njihova umetnička praksa obuhvata crtež i tekst, video, fotografiju, instalacije i intervencije u javnom prostoru. Kroz zajedničku praksu Rena i Vladan istražuju preklapanja prostora umetnosti i politike, razotkrivajući goruće društvene protivrečnosti. Oni razvijaju transformativne potencijale umetnosti u kontekstu društvenih borbi. U saradnji s društvenim pokretima angažuju se u debatama i borbama, te šire svoje umetničke radove reprodukcijom u različitim medijima. Izlagali su, između ostalog, u Bruklinskom muzeju u Njujorku (AgitProp!, 2016), na 56. oktobarskom salonu u Beogradu (2016), Muzeju savremene umetnosti u Ljubljani (2016), District u Berlinu (2017), na Autostrada bijenalu u Prizrenu (2017), Politics of Disonance u sklopu bijenala Manifesta 12 u Palermu (2018), Muzeju moderne umetnosti u Moskvi (2018), <rotor> u sklopu festivala Steirischer Herbst u Gracu (2018), Galeria del Progetto u Milanu (2019) i u Interkulturalnom muzeju u Oslu (2019).

Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić live in Belgrade. Their art practice involves drawing and text, video, photography, installations and interventions in public spaces. In their joint work, Rädle and Jeremić investigate the overlapping spaces of art and politics, exposing burning social contradictions. They develop the transformative potentials of art in the context of social struggle. In collaboration with social movements, they engage in debates and struggles, thus disseminating their artistic works by means of reproduction in different media. They have exhibited in the Brooklyn Museum in New York (*AgitProp!,* 2016), at the 56th October Salon in Belgrade (2016), the Museum of Contemporary Art in Ljubljana (2016), District in Berlin (2017), the *Autostrada* Biennale in Prizren (2017), at Politics of Dissonance, part of the *Manifesta 12* Biennale in Palermo (2018), Museum of Modern Art in Moscow (2018), <rotor> part of *Steirischer Herbst* festival in Graz (2018), *Galleria del progetto* in Milanu (2019) and the Intercultural Museum in Oslo (2019).

Grupa **škart** nastala je oko 1990. u grafičkom ateljeu Arhitektonskog fakulteta u Beogradu. Rad grupe stoji na razmeđi poezije, grafičkog dizajna, muzike i alternativne edukacije, neprekidno gradeći „arhitekturu ljudskih odnosa". Kroz neprekidni sukob unutar grupe, koji ih prati od početka, članovi pokušavaju da iz toga stalno izvlače novu vrednost.

The group **škart** was established in 1990 in the graphics studio of the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture. The work of the group is located on the intersection of poetry, graphic design, music, architecture and alternative education, tirelessly building the "architecture of human relationships." The group's members try to extract ever new values from the incessant conflict that has been with them since the group's beginnings.

Tanja Ostojić (1972, Jugoslavija) umetnica iz Berlina koja se bavi performansom i interdisciplinarnim umetničkim praksama. U svojoj umetničkoj praksi koristi različite medije, istražujući feministička pitanja, odnose moći, društvene konfiguracije, rasizme, ekonomiju i biopolitiku. Sebe uključuje kao lik u performansima i radovima pretežno iz perspektive žene migranta, dok političko pozicioniranje i etička participacija određuju pristupe njenog rada. Rad Tanje Ostojić uključuje visok nivo teorijskih referenci i postaje deo sve većeg broja muzejskih kolekcija.

Od 1994. godine predstavljala je svoj rad na brojnim samostalnim i grupnim izložbama, kao i festivalima širom sveta, uključujući MSU Beogradski salon (2017); Galeriju „Pratt Manhattan", Njujork (2016); Bijenale u Busanu, Južna Koreja (2016); Nemački istorijski muzej (Deutsches Historisches Museum), Berlin (2015); Atinsko bijenale (2013), Galeriju Škuc, Ljubljana (2012), Rimski paviljon, Venecijansko bijenale (2011), Umetnički paviljon Inzbruk (*Kunstpavillon Innsbruck*), Austrija (2008); Bruklinski muzej, Njujork (2006) i Venecijansko bijenale (2001).

http://misplacedwomen.wordpress.com

http://www.van.at/see/tanja/

Tanja Ostojić (1972, Yugoslavia) is a Berlin-based performance and interdisciplinary artist, researcher and educator. She uses diverse media in her artistic practice, thereby examining feminist issues, power relationships, social configurations, racisms, economy, and bio-politics among others. She includes herself as a character in performances and works predominantly from the migrant woman's perspective, while political positioning and ethical participation define the approaches of her work. Ostojić's work maintains a high level of theoretical reference and has been acquired by a growing number of museum collections.

Since 1994 she has presented her work in numerous solo and group exhibitions and festivals worldwide, including MoCA Belgrade Salon (2017), Pratt Manhattan Gallery, New York (2016), *Busan Biennale*, South Korea (2016), *Deutsches Historisches Museum,* Berlin (2015), Athens Biennale (2013), Škuc Gallery, Ljubljana (2012), Roma Pavilion, Venice Biennale (2011), *Kunstpavillon* Innsbruck, Austria (2008), Brooklyn Museum, New York (2006) and Venice Biennale (2001).

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Vahida Ramujkić (Beograd, 1973) kroz svoj umetnički rad bavi se društvenim pitanjima i društvenom funkcijom umetnosti razvijajući metodologije za kolektivni rad. Koosnivač je kolektiva Rotorrr (Barselona, 2001–2008 – Safaris Poble Now, AutonomiaAreA, GPSm itd.). Godine 2007. pokreće biblioteku i istraživački projekat *Istorije u raspravi* koji se razvija kroz serije radionica (Spaport, Banjaluka; NGBK, Berlin; 25. Oktobarski salon, Beograd, Mostar, Rijeka, Jaši itd.). Za ovaj rad nagrađena je prvom nagradom Oktobarskog salona 2011. godine. Od 2008. sa Avivom Kruglanskim razvija tehniku i projekat Dokumentarnog veza (Bristol, Jerusalim, Varšava, Meksiko Siti itd.). Od 2017. godine s grupom kolega pokreće kolektiv Minipogon, s ciljem organizacije proizvodnog rada zarad uspostavljanja veće društvene jednakosti. Radionica Minipogona se od 2019. nalazi u izbegličkom kampu u Krnjači. Autorka je publikacija: *Šengen bez muke*, *Oluja*, *povratak kući i druge strašne priče za decu*, koautorka *Olimpijskog vodiča kroz Barselonu*, *Uvezivanje*, *Irationals Traum* itd. Deluje kroz kolektive Irational.org, ReEX, Nerehabilitaciji itd.

Vahida Ramujkić (Belgrade, 1973) focuses on social issues and the social function of art in her work, developing methodologies for collective work. She is co-founder of the collective *Rotorrr* (Barcelona, 2001–2008 – Safaris POBLE NOW, *AutonomiAereA*, GPSm, etc.). In 2007 she started the library and research project *Histories in Discussion* that develops through a series of workshops (*Spaport*, Banjaluka; NGBK, Berlin; 25th October Salon, Belgrade, Mostar, Rijeka, Jaši, etc.). With this piece she was awarded the October Salon 2011 first prize. Since 2008, with Aviv Kruglanski, she has been developing the *Documentary Embroidery* technique and project (Bristol, Jerusalem, Warsaw, Mexico City, etc.). In 2017, she started, with a group of colleagues, the collective *Minipogon* with the goal to organize production work for the sake of establishing greater social equality. The *Minipogon* workshop has been based in the refugee camp in Krnjača since 2019. Her other works include *Schengen with Ease; Storm, Return Home and Other Terrible Stories For Children;* she is co-creator of *Olympic Guide through Barcelona,* 'Uvezivanje', *Irationals Traum*, etc. She operates through the collectives Irational.org, ReEX, *Nerehabilitaciji* [NoToRehabilitation], etc.

Vesna Pavlović (Srbija/SAD) magistrirala je na Odseku za vizuelne umetnosti Kolumbija univerziteta u Njujorku 2007. godine. Vanredni je profesor na Vanderbilt univerzitetu u Nešvilu. Njeni projekti istražuju odnos između memorije u savremenoj kulturi i tehnologija produkcije fotografske slike. Ključno u njenoj umetničkoj strategiji je širenje fotografske slike izvan njenih okvira, tradicinalnog formata i narativa. Radeći s arhivama, ona istražuje fotografsku reprezentaciju specifičnih političkih i kulturnih istorija.

Vesna Pavlović je izlagala širom sveta, uključujući samostalne izložbe u Kolekciji Filips u Vašingtonu, Frist centru za vizuelne umetnosti u Nešvilu, Muzeju Jugoslavije u Beogradu i Muzeju Kroker u Sakramentu. Učestvovala je na brojim grupnim izložbama, uključujući: Untitled, 12. bijenale u Istanbulu, 2011; MAC, Metropoliten centar za umetnost u Belfastu, Severna Irska; Württembergischen Kunstverein u Štutgartu, Nemačka; KUMU Muzej za umetnost u Talinu, Estonija; Zaçheta, Nacionalna galerija za umetnost u Varšavi, Poljska; Muzej za savremenu fotografiju u Čikagu, SAD. Dobitnica je Fulbrajtove stipendije za 2018. godinu.

Vesna Pavlović (Serbia/USA) earned an MA from the Department for Visual Arts at Columbia University in New York in 2007. She is associate professor at Vanderbilt University in Nashville. Her projects investigate the relationship between memory in contemporary culture and photographic image production technologies. Key to her art strategy is expanding the photographic image's scope outside its frame, traditional format, and narrative. Working with archives, she researches the photographic representation of specific political and cultural histories.

Vesna Pavlović has exhibited worldwide, including solo exhibitions at the Phillips Collection in Washington, the Frist Center for the Visual Arts Nashville, the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade and the Crocker Museum of Art in Sacramento. She has taken part in a number of group exhibitions: Untitled (12th Istanbul Biennial), 2011; MAC, Metropolitan Center for Art in Belfast, Northern Ireland; *Württembergischen Kunstverein*in Stuttgart, Germany; KUMU Art Museum in Tallinn, Estonia; Zachęta – National Gallery of Art in Warsaw, Poland; the Museum for Contemporary Photography in Chicago, USA. She received a Fulbright grant for the year 2018.

Vladimir Radojičić, rođen u Splitu, Jugoslaviji. Njegovi radovi su izlagani širom sveta, između ostalog i na Venecijanskom Bijenalu. Trenutno živi i radi u Njujorku.

Vladimir Radojičić, born in Split, Yugoslavia. His work has been exhibited all around the world, including the Venice Biennale. He is currently living and working in New York.

Vojvođanski građanski centar, kao i najvažniji program Centra pod imenom Neispričane priče, nastao je iz potrebe da se osvetle bitni slučajevi masovnih kršenja ljudskih prava koji su se desili na teritoriji Vojvodine devedesetih godina prošlog veka, ali i da ukaže na hrabre poteze pojedinaca u tom periodu.

Misija Vojvođanskog građanskog centra jeste afirmacija vrednosti otvorenog građanskog društva, s jasno definisanim prioritetima u zaštiti ljudskih prava i sloboda, razvijanju kritičkog dijaloga o događanjima u regionu devedesetih godina i uključivanju mladih u društveno-političke procese kroz aktivizam i prekogranično povezivanje. Vojvođanski građanski centar zastupa istinu, pravdu, solidarnost i odgovornost kao svoje osnovne vrednosti.

Kreiranjem novih platformi za saradnju s različitim pojedincima i grupama u regionu i Evropi, Vojvođanski građanski centar nastoji da doprinese demokratizaciji društava na Zapadnom Balkanu, prevazilaženju posledica konflikta i izgradnji odgovorne kulture sećanja.

Vojvodina Civic Center, as well as its most important program, titled *Untold Stories*, was created out of a need to shed light on important cases of mass violations of human rights that happened on the territory of Vojvodina throughout the 1990s, but also to showcase the brave actions of certain individuals during that period.

The mission of Vojvodina Civic Center is the affirmation of open civil society values, with clearly defined priorities in the promotion and protection of human rights, development of critical dialogue about events in the region in the 1990s and involving young people in socio-political processes through youth activism. Vojvodina Civic Centre promotes truth, justice, solidarity and responsibility as basic values.

By creating and maintaining new platforms for cooperation with different groups and individuals in the region and Europe, Vojvodina Civic Center intends to have a positive impact on the democratization of societies in the Western Balkans, to offer aid in their process of overcoming the repercussions of the conflicts and contribute to creating a participative remembrance culture.

Združena akcija „Krov nad glavom" je organizacija osnovana radi zajedničke borbe za pravo na dom. Osnovana je marta 2017. godine udruživanjem 9 grupa (Ko gradi grad, Ne da(vi)mo Beograd, Socijaldemokratska unija, Jednakost, Reci NE Izvršiteljima, 7 zahteva, Marks21, Čuvari/ke vatre i Beogradska omladinska akcija), ali i brojnih individualnih članica i članova. Nedavnim izmenama Statuta uvedeno je isključivo individualno članstvo pojedinaca i u ovom trenutku kolektiv ima preko 100 aktivistkinja i aktivista, među kojima su i obespravljeni ljudi koje „Krov nad glavom" brani od beskućništva. Kroz solidarne akcije sprečavanja prinudnih iseljenja, pružanje pravne i psihološke podrške ljudima kojima izvršitelji prete prisilnim iseljenjima, zatim kroz javne akcije čiji je cilj skretanje pažnje javnosti na ovaj društveni problem, rad na strategiji stanovanja u svrhu zbrinjavanja beskućnika i rešavanje stambenih problema podstanara, kao i kroz predlog za izmene i dopune Zakona o izvršenju i obezbeđenju (sačinjen u saradnji sa Udruženjem potrošača i bankarskih klijenata Efektiva), Združena akcija „Krov nad glavom" posvećena je neposrednom delovanju na terenu i radu na sistemskim promenama u sticanju nepovredivog prava na stanovanje svih članova društva.

Joint Action *The Roof Over Our Heads* is an organization established to work for the common right to a home. It was founded in March 2017 by the joining of 9 groups: *Ko gradi grad* [Who Builds the City], *Ne da(vi)mo Beograd* [Don't Let Belgrade D(r)own], *Socijaldemokratska unija* [Social Democratic Union], *Jednakost* [Equality], *Reci NE Izvršiteljima* [Say NO to Court Bailiffs], *7 zahteva* [7 Requests], *Marks21* [Marx 21], *Čuvari/ke vatre* [Firekeepers] and *Beogradska omladinska akcija* [Belgrade Youth Action] and it is also supported by numerous individual members. Recent amendments to its Statute have introduced exclusive individual membership and at this time there are over 100 activists in the collective, which also include the disenfranchised people that *The Roof* is fighting to protect against homelessness. Through solidarity actions preventing forced evictions, by providing legal and psychological support to people who are subject to forced evictions and court bailiffs, through public actions aimed at drawing public attention to this social problem and work on a housing strategy for the care of the homeless, as well as solving the housing problems of tenants and by working on a proposal for amendments to the Law on Enforcement and Security (drafted in cooperation with the Consumers' Association and *Efektiva* bank customers), Joint Action *The Roof Over Our Heads* is dedicated to direct on-the-ground action and work on making systemic changes by securing inviolable housing rights for all members of society.

Žene u crnom čini grupa feminstikinja i antimilitarističkih aktivistkinja iz Srbije, koje su aktivne od 1991. godine. One su učinile „vidljivim, nenasilni otpor militarizmu, ratu, seksizmu, nacionalizmu. Ukratko, sve aspekte nasilja i diskriminacije prema ženama i svih onih etnički, religijski, kulturno, seksualno, ideološki različitih". Takođe su osnovale Žensku mirovnu mrežu – Mrežu žena u crnom u Srbiji, proizvode alternativne ženske istorije, upisuju *druge* u istoriju i organizuju kontinuirano mirovno obrazovanje. Uporne su u svojim pozivima na odgovornost za rat i ratne zločine u Jugoslaviji, na suđenje svih onih osumnjičenih za ratne zločine u Hagu, kao i konfrontaciju s pitanjem kolektivne moralne i političke odgovornosti, i to putem uličnih akcija, žalbi, peticija, kampanja, prisustva na komemoracijama, seminarima i konferencijama.

Women in Black [Žene u crnom] is a group of feminist and antimilitarist activists from Serbia, which has been active as a group since 1991. They have made "visible, nonviolent resistance to militarism, war, sexism, nationalism. In short, all aspects of violence towards and discrimination against women and all ethnically, religiously, culturally, sexually, ideologically different people." They also founded the Women's Peace Network – Network of Women in Black in Serbia, produce women's alternative history, inscribe *the other* to history and organize permanent peace education. They constantly demand accountability for the war and war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, calling for the trial of all those suspected of war crimes in The Hague; they are adamant about confronting the issues of collective moral and political responsibility, through street actions, appeals, petitions, campaigns, attendance at commemorations, seminars, and conferences.

Željko Stanetić rođen je u Sremskoj Mitrovici 1986. godine. Tokom studija žurnalistike na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Novom Sadu fokusira svoj rad na polje tranzicione pravde i suočavanja s prošlošću na području bivše Jugoslavije. Sarađivao je s više organizacija u Srbiji i regionu, jedan je od osnivača Vojvođanskog građanskog centra i danas je izvršni direktor Centra. Posebno je zainteresovan za istraživanje posledica sukoba u postkonfliktnim prostorima kroz savremene i nekonvencionalne forme.

Željko Stanetić was born in Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia. While studying for his Bachelor's degree in journalism at the Department of Media Studies (the Faculty of Philosophy – Novi Sad University), he focused his work on transitional justice and dealing with the past in the region of the former Yugoslavia. He collaborated with several organizations in Serbia and the region and is one of the founders of the Vojvodina Civic Center (2008) where he works today in the capacity of executive director. He is particularly interested in exploring the consequence of conflict in post-conflict spaces by relying on contemporary and unconventional forms.


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